

LETTER FROM BERLIN C. AMERY

THE NATION

JULY 31, 1967 35 cents

Engineers of Prophecy

Water in a Crystal Ball

D. B. LUTEN and GORDON GOULD, Jr.

Pacem in Terris II

World Web of Crises

ELISABETH MANN BORGESE

The Painters' Union: **Ventilating the House
of Labor** BURTON HALL

VIEWS OF OUR WAR

General Marshall's / JOHN N. MORRIS

Thich Nhat Hanh's / JONATHAN MIRSKY

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Steiner's Elite Conscience / DAVID J. GORDON

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WSPAPER NEWS

LETTERS

the real heroes

San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR SIR: When in his review of David Gardner's *The California Oath Controversy* (*The Nation*, June 19), Prof. George Stewart fails to see the tragedy in the personal lives of the nonsigners, he is obviously referring to the twenty or so esteemed members of the faculty who fought the case legally and won. Some of these had in their pockets offers from at least two centers of higher learning when they made their fight.

But . . . at that time one organization fighting the oath had a list of 1,776 nonsigners, faculty without tenure, teaching assistants, administrative staff, clerical workers and others who had no legal recourse. I know of much tragedy caused by their stand on the oath, mostly the inability to get jobs after the episode. These were the unsung heroes of those days.

Norman Reider, M.D.

therapeutic homicide

Beverly Hills, Calif.

DEAR SIR: Phil Kerby's advocacy (through Dorothy Kenyon) of abortion-at-the-woman's-will ["Abortion: Laws and Attitudes," *The Nation*, June 12] is symptomatic of the irreverence for life that we have seen in the American napalming of suspected NLF villages and the Israelis leaving the overrun UAR soldiers on the Sinai desert to die of thirst.

Therapeutic abortion should be thought of as "justifiable homicide" and entered into with the same grave concern. Sex education and contraception should be widespread and free to all—but not abortion.

Richard Thomas Barton, M.D.

rewards of anonymity

New York City

DEAR SIR: Sean Cronin's "MacDiarmid: Highland Red," in your issue of June 5, was an engaging and informative piece of journalism. As one who had a minor part in the publication of the first edition of Hugh MacDiarmid's *Collected Poems*, I can add a footnote to his article. . . .

The project of collecting for the first time the poetic works of Hugh MacDiarmid was suggested to me by M. L. Rosenthal some years ago when I was an employee of The Macmillan Company. Mr. Rosenthal subsequently worked with Mr. MacDiarmid in selecting the poems; matters of organization, and questions of cuts and omissions were necessarily involved because of the voluminous nature of the material. Mr. Rosenthal then prepared the edition for the press, but, as a matter of principle, declined to be identified as the editor of the book. He felt that an edition of a great poet should come before the public neither graced nor encumbered by the name of the literary journeyman who assembled the collection. . . .

The new edition of the *Collected Poems*, mentioned by Mr. Cronin in his account and described as a "revised edition" prepared by John C. Weston, offers in its introduction some disobliging and scarcely merited remarks about Rosenthal's handiwork. Among these is his insinuation that MacDiarmid's great poem, "The Drunk Man Looks at a Thistle," was cut into sections against the author's will.

On the contrary, the author responded very promptly and cordially to Rosenthal's suggestion that the problems of presenting portions of this major poem might be lessened if the organic parts were further distinguished by appropriate titles. Indeed, Mr. MacDiarmid cheerfully supplied the titles in question. . . .

*Emile Capouya, Executive Editor
Funk & Wagnalls*

EDITORIALS

The View from Hanoi

Columnist Clayton Fritchey recently paid President Johnson the great compliment of assuming that the continuingly sharp escalation of the Vietnamese War is not a blind, mindless lunging into a void but a real campaign strategy aimed at 1968. "The strategy," writes Fritchey, "is simple: Prosecute the war so aggressively that the opposition cannot demand much more without calling for an invasion of North Vietnam or the bombing of China." Then Johnson's own gothic attitude might, by comparison, seem almost civilized.

If this is Johnson's scheme, the Republicans so far have avoided the trap. Romney has reversed himself again, and now advocates no more escalation. Another alternative to the Administration's pell-mell intensification of the war has come from eight Republican Congressmen who proposed that bombing in the Hanoi area be halted for two months. If, during that time, the North Vietnamese reduced their own belligerency, then we would move the bombing line one step south, and thus, zone by zone, as each de-escalating quid was balanced by a de-escalating quo, the war could be trimmed down to the negotiating table.

The proposal is basically faulty, even dangerous, in that success depends on what could be accomplished in sixty days (and what act of reciprocity would we accept as an adequate response?). But at least the proposal brought the war into debate in the U.S. House of Representatives for the first time in weeks—a healthy release of poison from the body politic. And best of all, the Republicans treated the public to a discussion of the North Vietnamese as a people with a point of view and a pride that should be taken into consideration. As Rep. Frank J. Horton (R., N.Y.) put it: "The purpose of this plan is not to determine who is going to lose, but to save face so that both sides can de-escalate." The restraint of the North Vietnamese was noted by Rep. Bradford Morse (R., Mass.), who correctly pointed out that there is plenty of escalating that the North Vietnamese could already have done—more terror bombings of civilians, more use of their enormous standing army, etc.—if they were as fanatical as President Johnson tries to make them out to be.

Accepting the North Vietnamese as a sensible people with an ethics and a pride is the thing most needed by our leaders today. Evidence continues to mount that the North Vietnamese make an undistorted appraisal of the war and that what they say of conditions are at least as trustworthy as the estimates from our own side. To illustrate, compare the statements made in a Hanoi radio broadcast on June 2 with information supplied either by the Pentagon, by U.S. officers in Saigon (as told to responsible journalists) or developed independently by the journalists themselves:

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During August, *The Nation* will appear on alternate weeks: forthcoming issues will be dated August 14 and August 28.

Hanoi: "The basic U.S. concept of defense is mobile defense, unlike the French colonists. Yet after two years, the U. S. aggressors' rear bases remain insecure. . . ."

Richard Harwood from Saigon, in *The Washington Post*, July 11: "This morning at an American military outpost a mere 20 miles south of Saigon [McNamara] was informed that only four of fifty-six nearby hamlets and only one of twelve nearby villages were under the control of the Saigon government."

Hanoi: "The U.S. strategy of local war of aggression has entered a period of serious stalemate. . . ."

Richard Crichtfield from Saigon, *Washington Star*, July 9: "The McNamara-Westmoreland debate came as many veteran observers in Vietnam agreed that the recent battles in the central highlands and along the demilitarized zone have set U.S. progress back about six months."

Hanoi: "We have fought 1 million troops of the Americans and puppets. . . ."

Pentagon and Saigon reports: There are now 466,620 U.S. land troops, 36,000 Navy, 53,000 allied (non-Viet), and 724,000 armed Vietnamese under our command, not counting the 35,000 U.S. supporting troops in Thailand, for a total of 1,314,620.

Hanoi: Claims 2,067 U.S. aircraft shot down over North Vietnam.

Pentagon and Saigon: It is admitted that more than 2,000 planes have been lost, but U.S. sources divide them differently: 600 shot down over North Vietnam, more than 1,500 aircraft lost in South Vietnam and elsewhere.

Hanoi: "The enemy has intensified his attacks on North Vietnam with the aim of preventing it, as the big rear, from supporting South Vietnam, the big frontline. . . . But the enemy could not materialize his plan, and he can never do so."

David S. Broder, *The Washington Post*, July 11: "As one White House adviser put it last week, 'Anybody who thinks that bombing is going to bring North Vietnam to the peace table is insane.'"

Since Hanoi's statements about the position and progress of the war agree broadly with the views of our own "experts," it seems prudent to believe Hanoi's view of its own strength, stubbornness and purpose. Thus, when Hanoi radio declares, "We are determined to fight them even if they have 2 million troops, even if the fight lasts for another five, ten, twenty years or longer," there is no reason to think that this is empty boasting or that Ho Chi Minh overestimates his capabilities. Some Pentagon experts say that Hanoi has half a million men under arms and that there are 2 million more of military age

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to draw from. Can President Johnson meet that? Does he have any idea what he says when he promises General Westmoreland "all the troops he needs"?

Compared to such a wild, open-end position, the simplistic proposal by the eight Republicans seems to embody the wisdom of the ages.

What Worries Detroit

A new note of urgency has entered the auto negotiations in Detroit in the wake of developments in the railroad and rubber industry labor disputes. Railroad management's success in imposing compulsory arbitration has not only irritated the entire labor movement but sent shudders through Detroit, where both labor and management far prefer free collective bargaining. On the other hand, the 100-day strike in rubber finally saw a break on the management front with General and Goodrich giving new contracts which substantially meet union demands, but the cost to profits and the lost wages for workers hardly suggests this example as one for Detroit to follow.

The real choice for Walter Reuther and the Big Three auto makers is to make free collective bargaining work reasonably well or face the mess in railroads, where compulsory arbitration now threatens to become the permanent system.

The difficulties facing auto negotiators are not the apparent ones. Walter Reuther has raised many crucial social issues at the bargaining table. Should blue-collar workers be placed on salary? Should auto workers have a guaranteed monthly income? Should profit-sharing become a standard part of wage payment? Should Canadian auto workers, who do exactly the same work as American unionists, be longer denied equal pay? The list is calculated to raise the blood pressure of editorial writers, but such issues are not as knotty as they seem. Profit sharing? In 1955, GM and Ford offered the UAW a stock-sharing plan. The current program of supplemental unemployment benefits added to unemployment insurance is already the basis for a "guaranteed annual income." And the richest industry in the world can afford a healthy wage package, and doesn't seriously deny it.

Then why are most observers and the bargaining participants worried about a strike, and the ramifications of a strike? For the same reasons that plague most collective bargaining these days. Given the impact of inflation as the cost of the war in Vietnam expands, general unrest in union ranks is widespread, first among the young workers (and almost 50 per cent of the auto workers have less than five years seniority), and then among the skilled workers.

The dilemma is this: If unions and management do agree to give skilled workers extra money, the cost is not prohibitive—but there is every likelihood of a revolt among the unskilled and semi-skilled unionists. In rail-

roads and in autos this is a determining factor. However, if the skilled workers don't get healthy raises, revolt is viewed as inevitable. And in autos, the skilled workers were more or less given veto power over contract settlement terms.

The painful question now is: How can a reasonable settlement be sold to the ranks in the context of current circumstances, since every indication suggests that the first package accepted by union negotiators has little chance of approval by the membership? As of now there is no answer, and a strike in autos this fall appears certain. In itself, this isn't as disturbing to the UAW or the auto industry as would appear. In 1964, when GM was closed down for six weeks, it still made its highest net profit of all time. What worries Detroit is that Washington may not understand, and may seek to impose its own view on the auto industry negotiators. The imponderable factor is the course of events in Vietnam. In any contest between guns and real wages, real wages are the sure losers. Nor would Washington like the appearance of national disunity which a large scale shutdown in autos might imply.

B. J. WIDICK

Crime and Insurrection

As the battle raged in Newark, New Jersey Gov. Richard J. Hughes declared at one point that it was "plain and simple crime and not a civil rights protest." In moments when he was less distracted by the bloodshed and looting, the Governor also spoke of "rebellion" and "insurrection." In fact, there was both crime and insurrection (some of the crime on the part of the police) in a peculiarly American synthesis. Karl Marx would have disapproved of it as severely as Governor Hughes. He warned the workers against the *Lumpenproletariat*, which in time of upheaval emerged from its warrens to loot, burn and discredit disciplined revolutionists. But never having heard of Marx, young Negroes conduct their insurrections in their own way, and it is doubtful that the white establishment would be better pleased if they went about the business with more propriety.

The Negro who breaks into a liquor store or carries away a television set during a riot may be interested only in his booty, but in most cases his motives are more complex. Among the looters were Negro housewives who took over a supermarket and did their normal shopping without paying for the groceries. "The brother's got to take everything he gets," one of them said. "Whitey ain't about to get off of anything unless you make him." Some Negroes deplored the looting, but most approved. Since Whitey stood for law and order, they were against both. For the most part, Negroes who have the kind of jobs available in their ghettos make common cause with the jobless, and the half-educated go along with the completely uneducated.

According to Michael Harrington, the United States

spends a smaller percentage of its wealth on welfare than any other advanced country. Like Robert Theobald, Harrington favors a guaranteed annual income that would go to the poor as a matter of social justice. The average American is not ready for any such dispensation. He does not object to spending 20 or 30 billions a year on a squalid war in Vietnam, but he begrudges welfare spending even on the present scale. His creed is to get all he can for himself, and the idea that a section of the population should be allowed to live without working is repugnant to him. That they may be unable to work, or that there are no jobs for them, makes no difference in this way of thinking.

And the affluent society rolls on. The revolt of the Negro proletariat is the retribution America has incurred for the gross materialism of middle-class prosperity, in which spending has become a religion and selfishness for oneself and the family ("nothing is too good for my kids") is the lodestar of the new white working class. Relieved of poverty (if he ever is), the Negro may do no more with his share of affluence than white America has done, but until he shakes off his role as America's socio-economic underdog he will visit shame and destruction on the nation that balks him in periodic outbursts of civil war.

Chicken Coop

Stupid ideas are supposed to die of exposure, but there is a kind whose emotional vigor lends them life beyond their term. An instance is the Civil Defense shelter program, which no one outside the Defense Department, with the exception of Governor Rockefeller of New York, has been able to contemplate without embarrassment. It is so preposterous in its Gargantuan inadequacy that we thought it had been safely interred, but the Defense people have now come out with a brand new pamphlet, "Designing Shelter in New Buildings," for the guidance of the architectural profession.

At first glance it is an impressive, not to say pompous, affair, heavy with charts, graphs and technical specifications, and prepared under government contract by engineers at Pennsylvania State University; but when one peers into its assumptions the structure crumbles.

The document starts from the suppositions that in the event of a full-scale nuclear attack, 10 per cent of the nation will be obliterated (that's 20 million dead) and that 75 per cent of its area will suffer radioactive fallout of varying severity. As a result, says the pamphlet, "most required shelter occupancy periods will be from two days to two weeks in duration. Others will have to remain protected for extended periods of time." Who says so? The pamphlet says so. What does it mean? Nothing.

But that is only a beginning. Comes next the question of an acceptable Protection Factor (PF). Taking the figure of 100 as meaning you would really be safe in

your hole (for two days? two weeks? an "extended" period of time?), the handbook arrives at 40 as the figure to be aimed for. "Since, hopefully," say the authors hopefully, "the need for radiation protection will never arise, many clients feel they cannot afford to incorporate high level shelter which will adversely affect the function or cost of the building."

What this means, if we may translate, is that an air raid shelter that will fail six times out of ten is good enough for the American citizen because (1) it will make him think that nuclear chicken is a game he can afford to play, (2) he probably never will be bombed, and (3) if he is, he won't be in any condition to protest. Meanwhile, a lot of concrete will be poured and the Russians may be weakened by laughter.

It is not entirely surprising that the Defense Department is still promoting this fraudulent scheme; what is shocking—though regrettably not as shocking as it would have been a few years ago—is to know that a university of some reputation will lend its name to the wicked buffoonery.

Choose Your Poll

One would like to believe otherwise, but it has been difficult to escape the conclusion that an overriding majority of Americans support the Johnson Administration's conduct of the Vietnamese War. They do so without enthusiasm, but Mr. Johnson is able to point to the polls.

Not, however, to all the polls. An editorial in the December 19, 1966, *Nation* called attention to a referendum which got on the ballot in Dearborn, Mich., a city probably as conventional and conformist as any in the country. The question posed to the voters was: "Are you in favor of an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam, so the Vietnamese people can settle their problems among themselves?" Nearly 80 per cent of those voting answered the question, 14,133 saying "yes" and 20,621 saying "no." Forty per cent of the voters, then, were prepared to endorse the extreme position of unconditional withdrawal.

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* got an even more astonishing result in a straw vote which it conducted on Sunday, May 28, of this year. Three points of view were presented, one by Rep. Mendel Rivers, an avowed hawk, another by Sen. William Fulbright, the third by Dr. Howard Zinn, who needs no introduction to *Nation* readers. Their essays were titled, respectively, "Escalate and Win," "De-Escalate, Talk" and "Withdraw." A high government official was also asked to present the Johnson Administration's case, but declined on the ground that he did not wish to enter into public debate.

The results of the voting, published on June 4, were:

Zinn	5798
Rivers	1716
Fulbright	1648

There may have been a proportionately heavier response

from anti-war readers, but that would hardly account for such a lopsided result. The *Plain Dealer* has no comment, except that their readership certainly represents a cross section of the population and that they have noted a growing concern about the war. The explanation probably is that it is one thing when a pollster appears and poses a question to an unprepared citizen: unless the respondent has formed a definite opinion, he is likely to take refuge in a safe and respectable "support our President" or "support our boys" attitude. But when three positions

are set forth and he has time to reflect, he is driven to a judicious choice.

In most of the media which come to the ordinary citizen's attention, the Zinn viewpoint is represented either as that of beatniks and draft-card burners, or simply ignored. If the anti-war policy got equal time and equal space, the results might well be nearer those of the *Plain Dealer* canvass than those that have been publicized in the past. The lesson is that the anti-war forces must redouble their efforts: the situation is far from hopeless.

ENGINEERS OF PROPHECY

WATER IN A CRYSTAL BALL

D. B. LUTEN and GORDON GOULD, Jr.

Mr. Luten, for most of his life a chemist, but now a lecturer in the Geography Department, University of California, is concerned with the influences of population and conservation pressures in the problems of natural resource management. Mr. Gould, formerly a student at the University of California, is now with the Peace Corps in Colombia.

In a year of drought, flood and great harvest, such as 1965, it was perhaps inevitable that a Senator, in this case Frank Moss of Utah, should ask: "How can a nation deal with such paradoxes—with such *audacious* [our emphasis] whims of nature?"

Quite apart from who should be called audacious, as we increase pressure on this part of our environment, so ever more often will the environment step on *our* toes. During the decades of increasing rainfall, we use more and more water and, lacking policy for retrenchment during the dry decades, we take it out on some other part of the environment. Hence our exhausted rangelands, our blowing high-plains crop land. Conversely, in the dry decades we move our cities out into the flood plains and, when the pattern changes, fight the mounting waters with ever greater flood-control districts. It is not at all surprising, thus, that alternations of floods and droughts should press more and more closely on each other.

Again, since our economy grows as by compound interest, exponentially, and our water "use" climbs at a similar but augmented rate, it is unavoidable that plans for the management of water should also grow in scale, cost, magnitude and grandeur. We are devising new notions of financing which enable us not merely to defer the amortization of water development to our grandchildren but also to hand on to them unresolved and ever-increasing water deficits.

In the Far West, Los Angeles, after exhausting local watersheds, has brought water for urban use, first from Owens Valley, then from the Colorado River, and then from Northern California. In the same period, irrigation water began to be moved southward from the well-watered Sacramento Valley to the drier San Joaquin Valley. In the East, the familiar example is New York reaching out from Manhattan, first up into Westchester County, then

across the Hudson into the Catskills and, most recently, over to the Delaware River; meanwhile postponing demands on the Hudson itself, because of its poorer quality.

Now, as the climax to all these ventures, and with a scope that is characteristic of water development, comes the Continental water plan. The first proposal for this is The North American Water and Power Alliance (NAWAPA). It has been studied in considerable detail by Ralph M. Parsons Co. of Los Angeles, a substantial corporation engaged in large-scale engineering and construction ventures. It has also been the subject of a Senate Interior Committee hearing under the prodding of Senator Moss. Although, because of its vastness, it has not yet been worked out in detail, and although information reaching the public has been limited, especially concerning the northeasterly ramifications of the proposals, still quite enough data have been released to permit a general description and to warrant certain reactions.

The proposal describes the magnitude and growth rate of the "demand" for water, notes the general deficiency of supplies in the arid Southwest and the increasing "inadequacy" of even the abundant sources in the humid Northeast and the Mississippi Valley. It then turns to the unoccupied Northwest, starting with the upper reaches of the Columbia basin and looking beyond to the headwaters of the Frazer, the Peace, the Liard and the Yukon. Here it sees supplies ample for its objectives. Fortunately, they lie at high altitudes and, in general, NAWAPA proposes to generate the hydropower needed to move water to the objectives, with a great deal left over, to pay in some degree for the undertaking.

The facilities proposed do not, perhaps, stagger the imagination, but they do exceed anything of the sort thus far undertaken on this earth. Some half dozen dams, each close to 1,500 feet high, are proposed. (The Empire State Building is 1,472 feet high, including the TV mast.) As for breadth, imagine a dam of that height stretching across Manhattan Island and both the East and Hudson Rivers! These dams are, in large measure, to restrain rivers running seaward in Canada's Northwest Territory and southeastern Alaska. They would create numerous reservoirs, some of them large. The most spectacular

would be a lake 420 miles long extending southeasterly from well up in British Columbia down into Montana almost to Flathead Lake. It would lie just to the west of the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains, filling what is known as the Rocky Mountain Trench. Dams across the Columbia, the Kootenay and the Frazer Rivers would create this lake. It would serve as reservoir, but also as conduit to move water down into the United States.

From this assembly point, water would be moved by two general paths:

(1) Southward, first to Flathead Lake, then into Clark Fork, then under the Bitterroot Mountains into the Idaho Wilderness lands. Reservoirs and power plants would assemble water from a number of streams in this neighborhood: five forks of the Salmon River, the Clearwater, Lochsa, Selway Rivers and Moose Creek. Some portions of these streams would continue to flow westward, as now, into the Snake and Columbia Rivers, primarily to generate hydropower for the immense pumping burden in the next southward hurdle. Five rivers, the Bitterroot, the Bighole, the Beaverhead, the Madison and the Yellowstone, lying east of the Continental Divide, would be dammed and in part sent under the Divide to add to this southward flow.

All these streams would be assembled in a reservoir on the East Fork of the Salmon River and from its head a tunnel under the Sawtooth Mountains of central Idaho would bring all of the southbound stream into the upper Snake River valley. Thence it would proceed southward roughly along the Nevada-Utah border, splitting into two forks, the westerly one continuing southward to supply water to southern Nevada, California and northwestern Mexico. The total supply (see also next paragraph) mentioned for Mexico, 20 million acre-feet, is more than the Colorado River's present average flow.

The eastern fork would tunnel under the Wasatch Mountains into small reservoirs high on the western tributaries of the Colorado, the San Rafael, Fremont and Escalante Rivers, then by tunnel completely under Lake Powell* to reach down into central Arizona, but also down into Mexico and then northeastward along the east face of the Rockies as far as Denver.

(2) The second path would take water from the Peace River, move it southeasterly into the Athabasca drainage, thence to the Saskatchewan, thence into the Qu'Appelle, with a diversion southward into the Missouri near Williston, N. D., thence into the Assiniboine, with another diversion through the Souris River into the James and southeasterly out of the James across the headwaters of the Red River and into the Mississippi near the Twin Cities. The main stream would go on east into the south end of Lake Winnipeg and thence, via the Winnipeg, Sturgeon and upper Albany Rivers, Lake Nipigon and the Nipigon River into Lake Superior. Associated with this segment are proposals for a host of still ill-defined waterways connecting Lake Huron and James Bay and going on up into Quebec and as far as westernmost Labrador, presumably to provide waterways for moving iron ore.

*This supply would be kept separate from the Colorado River, perhaps because the latter comes into a role more of drain for used water than source for new.

The associated hydropower and pumping structure is, of course, enormous. One of the pumping tasks alone is startling in its magnitude: a stream of 86,000 sec.-ft. must be raised 2,400 feet to get it out of the Salmon River country in Idaho. The electrical energy for this lift is a big number: $86,000 \times 2 \times 365 \times 2,400 = 150,672,000,000$ kwh./yr. To put it into realistic terms, you must know that each American's share of electricity is 4,000 kwh./yr. (0.5 kw.); so this pumping burden comes to the amount of electricity used today by 40 million of us, or about one-fifth of our total electricity use. Power transmission lines may become so prevalent in our wildlands that we shall have more wirescape than landscape.

The irrigation water might increase our cropland by 7 per cent and our crop production by 15 per cent. The added volume might be envisioned as flushing out the pollution of Lake Erie but, in fact, would be a minor increment to the existing flow of water through that lake. It might be envisioned also as postponing for hundreds of cities and industries the moments when the truth about pollution by sewage and other wastes must be faced. However, these moments will almost certainly arrive before NAWAPA. Canada would get an immense amount of additional hydropower in its western regions, where it is needed least, and a wonderful system of boreal barge ways, open for at least a few months each year.

The proposal would provide benefits for thirty-three states. Practically, this means it would cause sixty-six Senators to think deeply. NAWAPA has been extolled in hundreds of editorials throughout the country, is the subject of a vigorous promotional campaign involving, among other items, the almost daily use of seventeen prints of an attractive color film.

It was described as "grand and imaginative" in an editorial in *Science* two years ago. Nonetheless, to the degree that conservationists have become aware of the proposal, they almost universally oppose it. Why, then, are we out of step?

By intruding reservoirs into the heart of the wildlands of Idaho and, to a lesser extent elsewhere, NAWAPA would ruin a large fraction of the vestiges of such wildlands in the Western states. Wildlife habitat in all these regions would be modified, almost always adversely. The time is now past when one can argue that reservoirs are an asset to either wildlife or wildlands by saying: "You can't drown a duck." Synthetic fisheries could be created, but this is trivial compensation for the losses. High-density, water-oriented mass recreation thrives on reservoirs, but no reservoirs serving such purposes have yet become saturated, and the projected lakes are at the end of the line.

When it is asserted that we shall need NAWAPA, the question is raised almost explicitly whether we need wildlife, too. If we decide for NAWAPA, we should say aloud that we can no longer afford wildlands, that, in fact, we are a society of declining living standards.

No one, of course, has undertaken to compare our needs for these wildlands a century from now with our needs for NAWAPA's benefits. In fact, no one is competent to do this: we do not know what our population will be, nor how urbanized; we do not know what our

social traditions will be; we do not know what the relation of man to nature will be; as noted below, we do not know what water demand will be, and we do not know how electrical energy will be valued. Any engineer who is willing to say that the benefits clearly will outweigh the costs is flouting professional ethics.

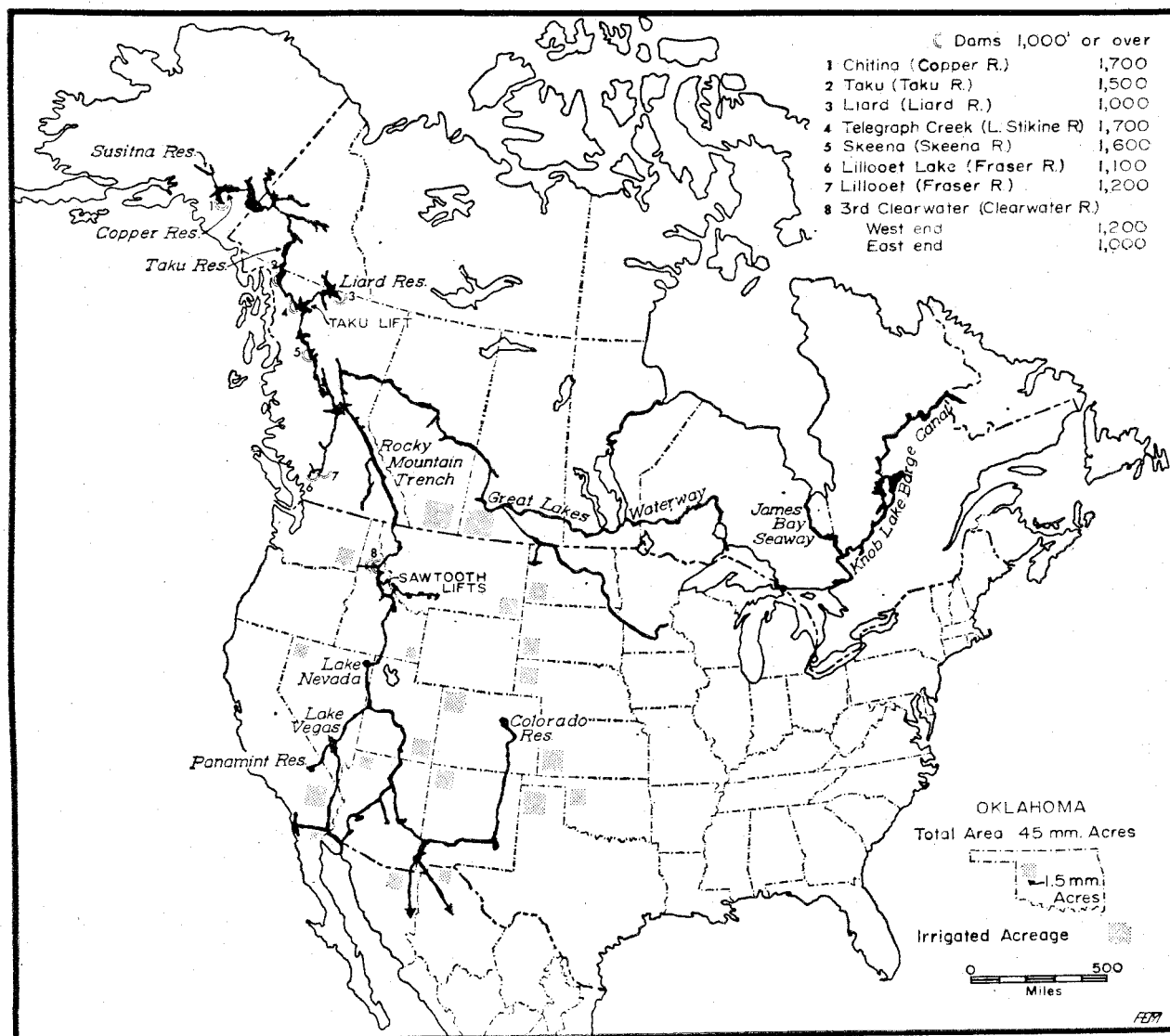
The anticipated modification of the landscape does not end with the Northwest. The Nipigon River, once the peer of all trout streams, would become a "conduit." Everywhere, rivers would be regulated; everywhere, the natural processes of the landscape would be modified. All told, flooded land would approximate the area of the state of Maine. No one can say that these modifications would serve the purposes for which they are being designed, but we can say with some confidence that NAWAPA would create more problems than it could solve, for such is the way of resource-management technology.

NAWAPA seems not to have questioned the nature and magnitude of future, especially far future, "needs" and "demands" for water. Ian Burton and Robert W. Kates, in a review of three books published by Re-

sources for the Future (Economic Geography, January, 1964) have hit this nail on the head. They say: "Demand for [water] . . . is not to be interpreted in conventional economic terms. No one knows the . . . amounts of water that are demanded or would be demanded at various prices. Water 'demand' for the base year 1960 is really an estimate of the amount of water actually supplied. Similarly, projected 'demand' for the year 1980 is really that amount of water expected to be supplied given various assumptions. . . . [The authors] are caught in the prison of their own assumptions . . . [namely] that things will change, but only in the way and at the speed that they are now changing. . . . The danger which we foresee is that projections may become self-fulfilling prophecies."

NAWAPA's proponents have seemed happy to accept estimates of greatly increased needs. Perhaps these serve their purposes, which may well be the continued expansion of civil engineering and the construction industry. Their premises are, then, subjective and self-serving.

NAWAPA's proponents have not explored alternate approaches to the problem. The plan has been described



as "imaginative," but imagination has been limited to engineering schemes for moving water. Other matters should also be considered. The first of these is the manner of our "use" of water and alternatives to it. How do we "use" water? By and large, we use it to carry things.

Irrigation water helps plants to carry nutrients from roots to foliage, and upon evaporating from the leaves, to carry heat away, to help cool the foliage. This is a "consumptive" use. No water is actually destroyed, but it is vaporized and liquid water is "consumed." But also, in irrigation, more water must be applied than is evaporated in order that some will drain from the fields and carry away the mineral salts of the incoming water and of the weathering soil. Such drain water is "used" but is not consumed.

Power plants use water to carry away waste heat. For each pound of coal whose heat of combustion is converted to electrical energy, 2 pounds burn to give heat which must be carried away by cooling water. Because the water is only warmed and is not immediately evaporated, we tend to call this a nonconsumptive use. But it appears that such water for cooling does evaporate fairly quickly, and so perhaps it is better considered a consumptive use. However, if it is evaporated, 1 pound will carry away as much heat as 100 pounds of water merely warmed. Should we then think of power plants as extravagant users of water in a nonconsumptive fashion, or as fairly parsimonious users of water consumptively? The amounts are 1 acre-foot of water warmed per year for each American, or 0.01 acre-foot evaporated for each of us. These are interesting numbers in that our consumption of potable water (0.1 a-ft./capita/yr.) is their geometric mean. Thus, depending on how we assess the consequences of power plants, either they are a dominant part of our use but nonconsumptive, or a trivial part but consumptive.

A complication in assessing and in forecasting water use by power plants is that those which are located on tidewater often do not have to obtain permits for water withdrawal and may thus appear, in the statistics, to use none at all. Be all this as it may, as long as we generate electricity from fossil or nuclear fuels, we shall use cooling water, and the amount used will grow at much the same rate as electricity use grows. Finally, the minerals in the water used by power plants will usually return to streams from which the water was withdrawn and will increase its salinity in proportion to evaporation.

Cities and industries other than power plants use water to carry away something not wanted. Most of such waste is organic, oxidizable, and perhaps sewage is reasonably typical of it. Where the water resource is ample, we dump used waters into the streams with confidence that natural processes will take care of oxidation and that salinity will be adequately diluted.

When pressure on the water resource increases, we have been accustomed to provide partial oxidation in sewage treatment or industrial waste treatment plants. Beyond this, we are now beginning to think of three additional possibilities: desalination of sea water, tremendous diversion schemes like NAWAPA, and the separa-

tion of excessively used from unused waters. Already, in southwest Arizona and in Pakistan as well, this third alternative is being undertaken. We can easily think of a fourth and a fifth possibility and, if we do not explore these and unveil numerous others, we should never brag of our "imagination."

The first of these additional alternatives is the complete renovation of used water, which means removing saline minerals and complete oxidation of organic materials. While desalination of sea water has a future, it also has some very obvious technical hurdles. The partial desalination of modestly saline waters could escape some of these obstacles and could provide more useful water than desalination. The leading process for doing this is known as "electrodialysis." If electrodialysis were combined with a complete oxidation of used water, we could abandon the entire idea of "waste water."

It is likely that our legislative agencies will, and in the near future, become so annoyed with the quibbling and pettifogging tactics of water-pollution engineers, regarding degrees of tolerance and of alternative ways of getting by, that they will propose that all water be returned to streams in a condition no worse than when it was removed. The possibility is mentioned by O. C. Herfindahl and A. V. Kneese in their recent book, *The Quality of the Environment*, although the authors do not hold it to be economically attractive.

How this might be done is a problem for technologists, and it would be presumptuous for anyone not intimately familiar with the field to forecast. But let us be presumptuous for a moment and note that three years ago G. H. Teletzke suggested in *Chemical Engineering Progress* (January, 1964) that air alone, under high pressure and at 300°C, will oxidize sewage almost completely in a few minutes. The provision of high-pressure reactors in the volume needed sounds terribly expensive, so let us suggest further that they be provided as caverns at perhaps a mile deep in the ground to make the attainment of adequate pressure easy. A cavern 100 feet across should suffice for a million people.

The second additional alternative involves a change in economic viewpoint; it is suggested simply to remind Americans that although daily they hear water spoken of as "our most valuable resource," still the speaker would usually be hard put to identify any American who pays for water. What we pay for is the management, the entrapment, storage, transport, purification and delivery of water. Only when a city has paid for water rights previously owned by someone else, as Los Angeles in Owens Valley, can it be said that water itself is bought. A thoroughgoing review and perhaps a revolution in water resources law is in order. If New Yorkers were charged enough for water itself to diminish their use of it, we suspect the income might run the entire city. As an example, too far from home, water users in the Ruhr Valley, Germany, have for years been charged the cost of restoring effluent waters to a tolerable quality.

So much for imagination in seeking alternative solutions of the problem. And let no one imagine the field is exhausted.

In the preceding catalogue of objections, we have

challenged NAWAPA's thoughtless belief that no competition with other resources is involved, have challenged their forecasts of water need, and have challenged their imagination in solving the problems of "use."

Another area of objections is quite different. It deals with the matter of planning, of forecasting, or problem solving. Once upon a time, people who forecast population changes did so in ivory towers, quite separate from society in the sense that society paid little attention to their projections. Today, though, many elements of the society, in their concern for the future, quite systematically seek out all possible information. As one result, the ideas of forecasters may now influence events. As an example, it is quite clear that the forecasts of continued growth in California, by stimulating investment in public services, in housing, and so on, are themselves in large measure responsible for that growth. The prediction of 40 million people in California by the end of the century, when received with confidence, initiates a program which, it may almost be suspected, requires for its completion the presence in California of 40 million people by the end of the century.

So long as projections of resource needs were for limited periods of time, it may have been a reasonable assumption that population growth was foreordained, an independent variable. But as soon as we start talking about 100-year programs, it becomes clear that population may be dependent on the program. When demographers undertake population projections they always recognize that the essence of the future is that it cannot be perfectly known. But the engineers tend to discard the assumptions, the host of "ifs" in the demographers' projections, and are far too prone to say, "in 2000, the population will be. . . ."

If we find it necessary to make long-range plans, and probably this is unavoidable, then we are confronted with a new sort of problem—an evaluation of the effect of our plans upon the future for which they are projected. When we speak of short-range plans, they often seem to have a self-fulfilling quality. When we speak of long-range plans they seem, surprisingly, to have a self-

defeating quality. Thus, if a hypothetical man of great reputation forecasts that science and technology can solve all the problems of supporting a growing population and that no limits exist to the capacity of the world to support humanity, a forecast which is manifest nonsense, then he may encourage a world in which humanity will eat itself out of house and home, a world quite different from that envisioned. On the other hand, if he foresees dire disaster, he may encourage a course of action of such prudence, providence and conservation as again to avoid the fate foreseen. Both forecasts are self-defeating.

Perhaps we shall come closer to fulfilling our long-range purpose if, instead of foreseeing a "solution," we foresee a shortage and thereby stimulate innovation, perhaps even a termination of population growth! About all that can be said with confidence at this time is that the problems of long-range planning need consideration, a lot of consideration, and by people with far more perception than engineers or planners.

Quoting from a letter by D. B. Luten to *Science*:

"NAWAPA is a program of bankruptcy. After the water 'for as long as 100 years' supplied by this development has all been 'used,' what next? And if we do find a way to wiggle out of the predicament of A.D. 2065, how about that of 2165? No problem of population growth stemming from a static pattern of family size and death rates can be solved either by emigration or by technology. It can only be solved by a changing pattern of family size or of death rates. Science, technology, emigration, can only postpone the issue. If the time gained by postponement is not used to find a solution in smaller families, then the problem will only have been enlarged. At today's growth rates, in each 35 years the piper's bill is doubled. It would seem the part of providence to attack the issue now rather than when time has come to an end. It would seem the part of providence not to lull an audience by telling them they may go their way secure in the knowledge they will be cared for.

"If we must build NAWAPA, let us wait until we know our doom is at hand, and when our last realizable ambition is to amaze future archaeologists."

PACEM IN TERRIS II

WORLD WEB OF CRISES

ELISABETH MANN BORGESSE

Mrs. Borgese, world known as a critic and writer of fiction, is a member of the staff of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, with particular responsibility for organizing its international studies. She participated actively in the preparations for Pacem in Terris II.

The center for the Study of Democratic Institutions held its convocation, Pacem in Terris II, at Geneva from May 28 to May 31. A more difficult moment could hardly have been chosen. Escalation in Vietnam made it impossible for the North Vietnamese and the National Libera-

tion Front to participate, and their refusal engendered a host of other complications. The South Vietnamese, whose invitation to the assembly had been made contingent on acceptance by North Vietnam and the NLF, had sent none less than their Foreign Minister, Tran Van Do. He was not admitted to participate.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, withdrew its delegation, both in solidarity with the North Vietnamese and because of the exacerbation of East-West relations in the Middle East crisis. The German Democratic Republic followed suit, but withdrew its withdrawal the following day. If one adds to this the departure of the repre-

representatives of the UAR, due to the urgency of the Middle East crisis, the absence of U Thant, whose inaugural message was delivered over Telstar, the absence of Ambassador Goldberg, the withdrawal of the State Department which, according to *The New York Times*, considered the convocation an all-too-open forum for anti-American propaganda—it becomes easy to imagine the harassment of the organizers, forced to rearrange programs and speakers' panels from day to day, and to see to it that even those who were not present physically were properly represented so that there could be a "dialogue." That this was achieved must be counted as a near miracle.

There are differences as well as similarities between Pacem in Terris I, which took place in New York a year and a half ago, and Pacem in Terris II. The differences are both organizational and political.

PIT I maintained a clear division between active participants and audience. The participants were relatively few and came overwhelmingly from the "developed" countries. Ceremonial and formal speeches were scheduled every day. The audience, comprising some thousands of listeners, remained passive and anonymous.

PIT II brought together some 300 people: a rather exceptional group, representing eighty-two nations and including a remarkable number of former or active cabinet ministers, ambassadors, Members of Parliaments, scientists, dignitaries of various churches, editors of leading newspapers, judges of the International Court. The Nobel Laureates were eight. Among the American participants were Justice William O. Douglas and Paul Hoffman, and U.S. Senators Fulbright, Claiborne Pell, Clark and Brooke.

This group was not divided between active and passive. Except for a ceremonial opening, there were no formal speeches. Two to three panel discussions convened daily (on coexistence; on the Middle East crisis; on Vietnam and Southeast Asia; on Germany and Europe; on economic development; on international law; "beyond coexistence"; on interdependence), with four to six participants each, and several hours were reserved each day for brief interventions from the "floor." Some of these proved outstanding: Pastor Niemöller's discussion of the German problem, Martin Luther King ("The U.S.A. is superbly equipped to take the risks of peace"), the Reverend Castillo on the dangers of the Latin American situation, Bishop Crowther on apartheid, Marya Mannes on the needs and hopes of the younger generation, and a few more.

In political terms PIT I had been basically an expression of peaceful coexistence between the United States and Russia. This was so noncontroversial that it was possible for high representatives of the two governments to speak the same language. Vietnam was mentioned once or twice, rather casually; coexistence with China was too remote an issue even to be considered.

PIT II had been planned as both an extension and a specification of the problem of coexistence. "The original object of this second convocation was not merely to continue the discussion at the first and to strengthen the ties that were formed there," President Hutchins said in his opening remarks. "Having established, apparently, that

conversation among men of different faiths and ideologies was possible, the Center planned now to direct attention to what the discussion was to be about, namely, the immediate practical steps that must be taken if the world is to hold together and humanity is to survive."

In fact, however, the basis for discussion had sadly narrowed since PIT I. The consequences were graver for the Americans than for the others; for whereas the Soviet line was forcefully delivered by the Poles, the Chinese found an ardent, eloquent and learned spokesman in the now Canadian Paul Lin, and the cause of North Vietnam was adequately defended by the representatives of Cambodia and Indonesia, the State Department found no advocate for its foreign policy. "There is one point that unites us all," Kenneth Galbraith noted during one session, "transcending nations, creeds, politics or ideologies, and that is criticism of the American policy in Vietnam." It should be immediately added that other aspects and phases of American policy—quite particularly the Marshall Plan—were highly praised, both by Americans, all of whom delivered their criticism of current American policy in a spirit of dignity, loyalty and patriotism, and by non-Americans, who never degraded their criticism with cheap anti-Americanism.

Thus Senator Clark concluded his brief statement, in which he illustrated the attitude of elected officials in the United States toward international law, with a stirring exhortation. "Gentlemen," he exclaimed, "do not despair of the United States!"

To sum up: While PIT I comprised a dialogue between official U.S. and official USSR, PIT II represented a world without State Department and without Kremlin.

But between PIT I and II there were similarities sufficient to create a continuity and to establish the Pacem in Terris convocations as something *sui generis*, something that may become a permanent, regular feature of international and intercultural life; similar in a way to the Pugwash conferences of scientists and scholars.

One of the characteristic and unique features of the PIT convocations is that they mix authorities of high political standing with private individuals of high intellectual standing. This formula has been criticized, especially by Eastern Europeans. It raises problems of protocol, complicates organization, and curbs the freedom of "dialogue." Certainly it would be easier to restrict participation to those who bear no political responsibility. But would the deliberations be as significant? Hutchins suggested in his opening remarks: "Let us agree that everybody is here *in as private a capacity as his position permits*, that the object of this gathering is not to repeat propaganda lines with which we are already too familiar but to understand and to be understood, and to seek courses of action that the frozen official attitudes of governments may have prevented them from noticing."

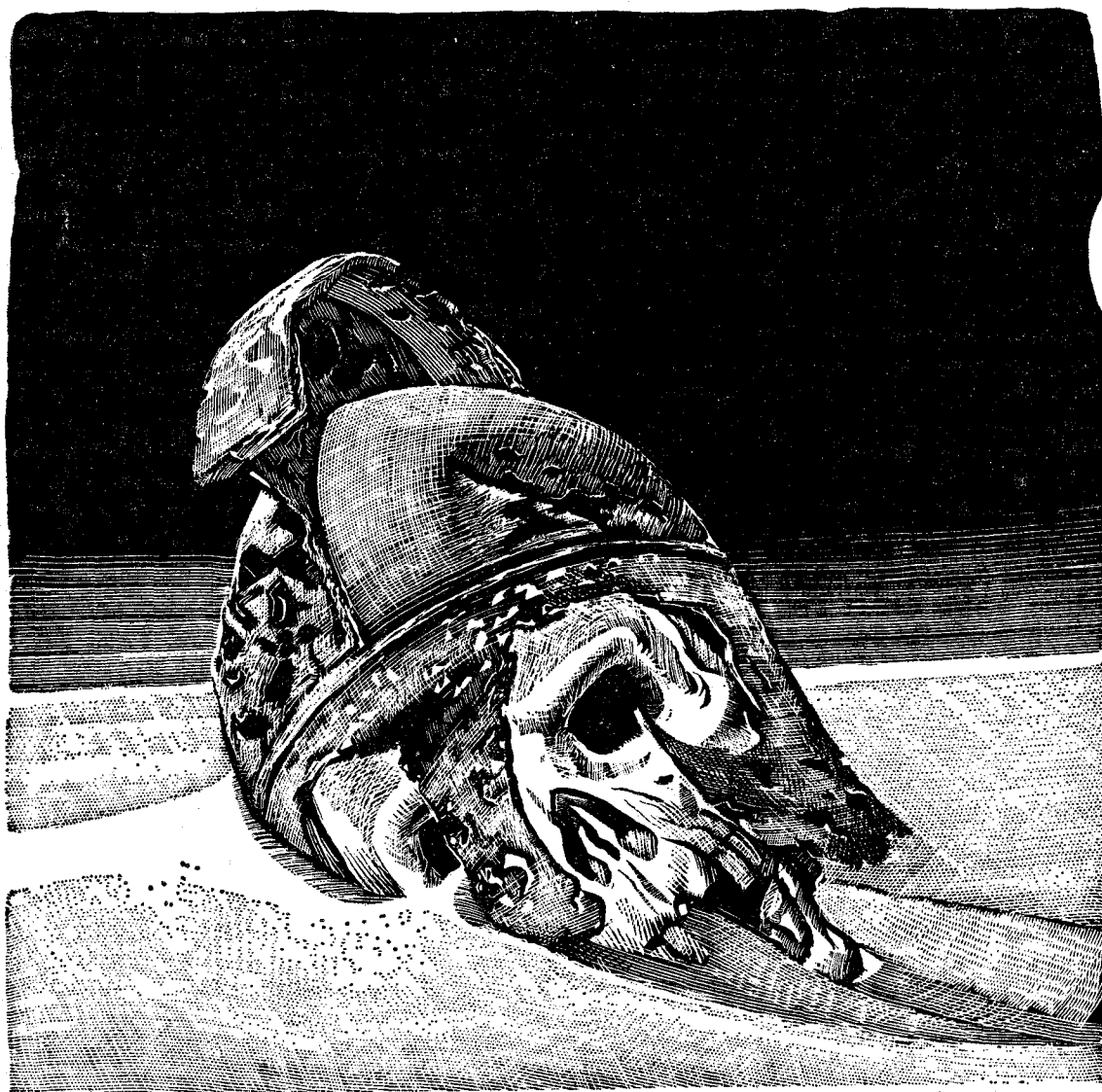
The PIT admixture of official and unofficial elements is further complicated by another unusual combination: the convocations deal both with general issues, in most theoretical and abstract terms (What is coexistence? Where do we go after coexistence? Where does international law stand today? How must the international machinery be transformed to insure peace and justice?),

and with the most practical, political, even tactical questions, such as whether or not to stop the bombing in Vietnam; how to judge the withdrawal of the UN forces from Egypt; or what to think about the *Alleinvertretungsprinzip* of the German Federal Republic.

This formula, too, has been criticized as politically ineffective. Yet to look at the universal in view of the particular, to consider practical problems in the light of general, theoretical and ethical considerations would seem not a bad formula. This is "practical philosophy." It is, at any rate, the formula of the institution responsible for the PIT convocations: the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

What is trivial and threadbare does not get far in such a context. This was demonstrated by the discussion on Germany—a historic occasion, in any case, since it brought together representatives of both Germanys at an international gathering for the first time in postwar history. Both the Westerners and Easterners delivered their straight party line—the West brandishing freedom, speaking in the name of Germans West and East, and

demanding reunification on a prewar basis, and in the frame of an Atlantic (atomically armed) community; the East standing on the here and now, demanding, first of all, recognition of the existing reality, and willing to negotiate and go forward from there toward unification within a pacified and de-atomized Europe. If each one succeeded in exposing the flimsiness, self-contradiction and inconsistency of the other's argument, a third German, far above the level of party politics, exposed the flimsiness of the whole argument. In an impassioned address the venerable Pastor Niemöller put the German problem into its place. Time has passed, he pointed out. "The German problem" today is no longer what it used to be. "Fifteen years ago we were forced to trade unity for armaments." Today the two Germanys are a reality, and if free elections were held in both parts, the situation would not change one iota. Those who think that the younger generation of East Germans wants to return under the capitalistic Western system are subject to a grave illusion. But that, Pastor Niemöller added, is not really the problem today. The German problem becomes a tiny affair in the wider context of the war now taking shape in Viet-



When Politics Are Left To The Generals

Macpherson; Toronto Star

nam, in the Middle East, in Africa, in Latin America: a war of the nonwhite, poor, underdeveloped majority of mankind against a small, white, wealthy and overdeveloped minority.

If indeed this convocation had a "message," Pastor Niemoeller gave the keynote address: the apparently separate crises, confrontations or interventions ravaging today's trouble spots are, in reality, intimately connected, all aspects of the same big struggle. There can be no *détente* in Europe and, therefore, no solution to the German problem as long as East-West relations are poisoned by the atrocity of the Vietnamese War (Niemoeller, Jules Moch and others); likewise: peace in the Middle East can only be the fruit of cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union. Such cooperation, on the other hand, can be obtained only through a *quid pro quo* in Southeast Asia. The East-West conflict furthermore, in its ideological aspect (communism versus capitalism) is obsolete and being overlaid with the North-South conflict, as described by Niemoeller, of which Vietnam and the Middle East are fleeting episodes but which, in the coming years, is bound to expand in Southeast Asia, to erupt in Aden, in Rhodesia, in South Africa, in Latin America, as well as in the cities of the United States. "There will be a new Vietnam" is becoming a term of common usage. "Vietnam" is being generalized as was, at its time, "Quisling" or "fifth column." The traditional norms of diplomacy, of power politics and war can no longer be applied to this situation. It is a world revolution.

Most impressive in this connection were the interventions of the Rev. Gonzalo Castillo-Cárdenas of Colombia and of Bishop Crowther of the Union of South Africa.

Father Castillo pointed out that the problems of the Latin American countries are far deeper than the occasional disturbances caused by Castroist subversion; that "political, military and psychological conditions exist which are leading Latin America toward a painful repetition of the Vietnamese experience." These conditions include: The persistence of social and economic structures which frustrate the legitimate hope for liberation of the great masses of people; the stubborn insistence that the only solution to the problems of Latin American economy is the free and untrammelled expansion of North American private enterprise, when, in reality, such expansion is equivalent to the legitimization of economic colonialism; the permanent and very effective intervention of the United States, bent on preventing internal social revolution, and the political emancipation of the masses. The forces of this revolution are being suppressed with means quite similar to those used in Vietnam, including napalm made in the U.S.

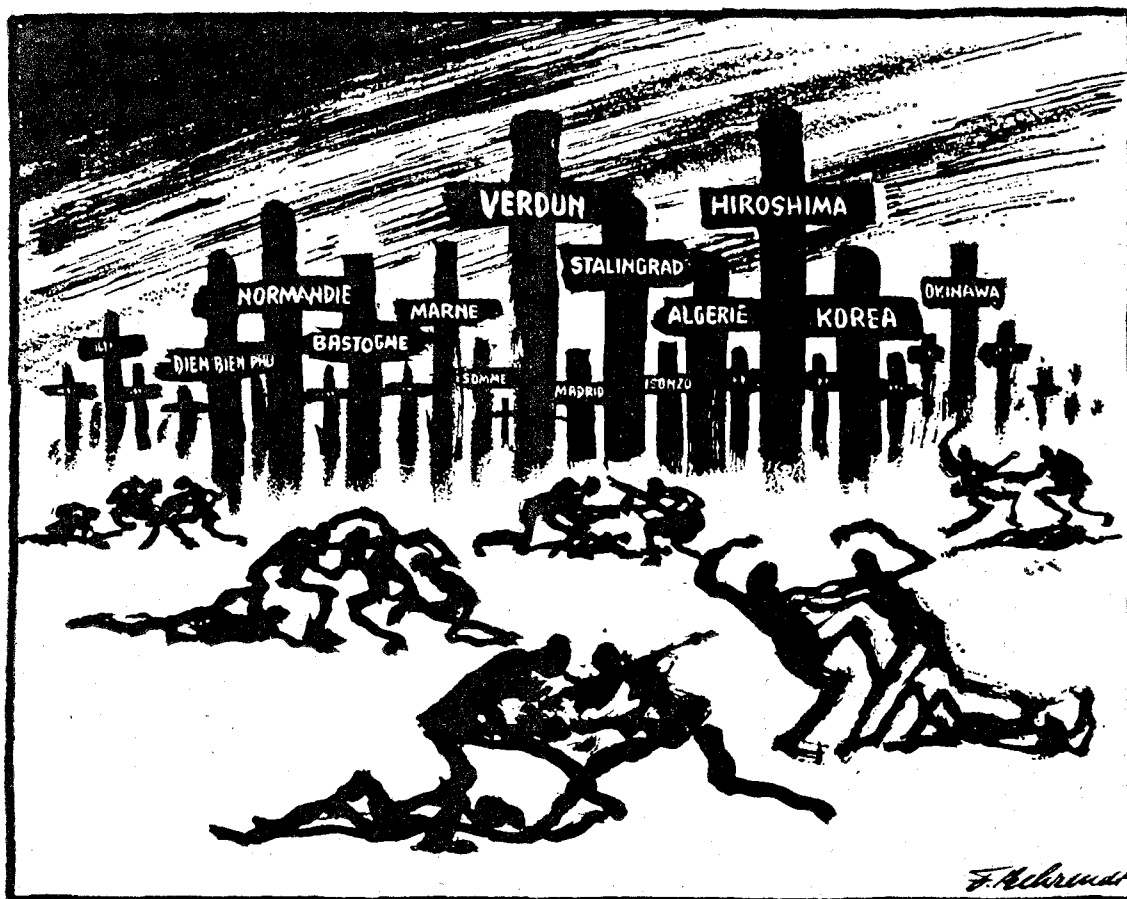
Bishop Crowther, just expelled from his diocese of Kimberley, South Africa, spoke of racism and coexistence. "Racism is war," he said. "It is war within the soul of the discriminator. It is war within the soul of the victim. It is aggression against the human personality. Wherever racism is found there is war in the spirit. For this to become activated in the visible pain and cancer of physical war requires factors of which our human history is all too full." And then he predicted: "The next decade could

well see in southern Africa the emergence of a situation which could show up Vietnam as a merely localized conflict. The rejection of apartheid by those who have suffered so long could well lock into the world-wide movement which rejects racism as the delineation between the haves and have nots."

PIT II brought forth a host of suggestions, proposals, resolutions, both short-range and long-range. Numerous, and clamorously received were the resolutions, individually or collectively endorsed, calling for cessation of the bombardments of North Vietnam. (These resolutions were presented simply as matters of information, since the convocations themselves do not endorse or even consider such motions.) The most significant resolution was one drafted collectively and read into the record by Chester Ronning of Canada, former Ambassador and High Commissioner in India and member of the Vietnam Control Commission, and one signed by all the scientists present at the convocation and presented by Linus Pauling in a stirring address. Suggestions for ending the Vietnamese War, whether Senator Pell's, those of the scientists or others, agreed more or less on the following points: (1) Cessation of the bombings; (2) negotiations for a cease-fire among all parties concerned; (3) phasing out of American troops and phasing in of international troops; (4) free elections in South Vietnam in which the whole population would participate; (5) the right to self-determination for the people of Vietnam and the eventual withdrawal of all foreign troops; (6) amnesty for political opponents or prisoners, and asylum for political refugees.

But PIT II had more to offer than such short-range programs, of which there are no lack today. Among the papers prepared in connection with the convocation was a study by Brigadier General Said Uddin Khan of Pakistan, suggesting—on the basis of a historical, social and economic analysis—the creation of a neutral Southeast Asian Commonwealth, independent of both China and the United States; dependent for its development on a multi-lateral program of aid modeled on the Marshall Plan and channeled through the appropriate organs of the UN. This "Commonwealth" would include Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines. Its organs would have merely advisory powers; their functions would be research and planning. The Commonwealth would be divided into two Federations: a Peninsular Federation (Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, the two Vietnams) and an Archipelago Federation (Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines), with which, possibly, a third Federation—Australia and New Zealand—might be associated. Japan could play a constructive role in the economic development of this new "Commonwealth"—a role that might offer a desirable alternative to the present, American-dominated SEATO course which is up for reconsideration in 1970.

The plan is set forth with some detail and divided, for its enactment, into different phases. It was not formally discussed by the convocation (nor were any of the other papers prepared in advance and circulated among members or panelists), but the Southeast Asian participants, meeting in a caucus, discussed its main points and



Not Enough?

Behrendt-Algemeen Handelsblad, Amsterdam

agreed to urge the Center to organize a conference "on neutral ground somewhere in South East Asia to study the proposal now under consideration" which would be "in conformity with the United Nations concept of regional cooperation." "It should be understood that invitations to participate on a full and equal basis would be extended to persons from North Vietnam, South Vietnam and the rest of South East Asia. The objective of this Conference would be to permit the people of South East Asia, without outside interference, to address themselves to the resolution of their own problems."

If the convocation had yielded only this project, it would have been a respectable result. For the "Commonwealth" formula, with variations and adaptations, may have wider applicability. Let us suppose that curing the Vietnamese malignancy would ease the secondary ills now besetting East-West relations in Europe. Is it absurd to imagine a "Commonwealth" that would plan and coordinate, on an advisory basis, the economic, financial, cultural, technical and mutual-security arrangements between the Common Market nations on the one hand and the Warsaw Pact nations on the other; each one of these two groups constituting a "Federation"? It is only in such a context that German reunification could ever take place, or that even the formula for a reunited Berlin, ringed by a UN control zone, ringed further by an expanding demilitarized zone, as suggested by Jules Moch, would be very much worth considering.

It is indeed encouraging that on July 14 Willy Brandt proposed just that. "I consider it worth the effort of the

institutions of the European communities to try to get the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe to form a committee of cooperation to broaden trade, to promote an increased exchange of technological knowledge and thus lead to growing cooperation between East and West. This would not be a stiff arrangement between the Common Market and Comecon but a meaningful complement to my desire to broaden the system of bilateral ties."

Not that the "Commonwealth" formula is a cure-all, or that there exists any formula that could be applied to all trouble spots. But it is no secret that the State Department is today giving the most careful consideration to the possibility of creating in the Middle East regional organisms, analogous to the European "Communities," to secure peace and stability in that part of the world. The first hint of this came on June 12 from Presidential Assistant Walt W. Rostow, as reported by *The New York Times*. "We would hope that out of the frustrations and tragedies of postwar Middle East history we might see emerge a new decision to achieve dignity and stability for all through regional cooperation."

Development is the key to peace in that region, as in all others. Thus the convocation made its own the motto proposed by Pope Paul in *Populorum Progressio*—that peace must not be based on economic development but that peace is economic development. One whole session—improvised—was dedicated to this problem. While there was much, obviously, to criticize—as is well known, the gap between developed and developing countries is grow-

ing; bilateral aid breeds neo-colonialism—there was also some ground for optimism. Real progress has been achieved in a number of countries. Paul Hoffman mentioned Chile, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Morocco, Thailand, the Philippines and Yugoslavia. “Looking beyond these individual success stories,” he continued, “we can find even more significant reasons for encouragement. One element of tremendous importance is the fact that the poverty of most of the developing countries does not stem from any lack of resources but from their underutilization.” A careful analysis reveals “that the developing nations are currently using only some 20 per cent of their *natural* resource potentials, and only some 10 per cent of the potentials latent in their *human* resources. This means that four-fifths of their natural wealth and nine-tenths of their human productive power remains as yet untapped.”

Another encouraging factor, Mr. Hoffman continued, is the change that has taken place in recent years in “what might be called the basic philosophy of development aid.” “There is now a much better understanding that aid should be regarded solely as a tool for speeding development and not as an instrumentality of the cold war or as a means to achieve a preferential trading position.” In conclusion Mr. Hoffman pointed to the changing role of economic affairs in the frame of international law and organization: “Economic development is, among much else, an important tool for conducting meaningful dialogue about peace. . . . Thus one of the great strengths of the United Nations as compared with the League of Nations is that *the League was an almost completely political body*. But in the case of the United Nations, 85 per cent of all those who work for our world organization and the family of related agencies—and 85 per cent of all its revenues are devoted to stimulating economic and social progress. This, I am convinced, is as it should be.”

Mr. Hoffman’s observation leads to the final and most comprehensive of the topics considered by the convocation: the changing structure of international law. On this topic, too, a panel was improvised, under the chairmanship of Justice William O. Douglas, and with the participation of four judges of the International Court of Justice at the Hague (Zafrulla Khan, Pakistan; Philip Jessup, U.S.; Manfred Lachs, Poland; and Luis Padilla Nervo, Mexico. Are there many international meetings, one wonders, able to improvise a panel of this sort?).

Justice Douglas introduced the topic by pointing out that the International Court speaks for international consensus. Its judges come from different legal systems, but these systems have “many golden threads in common.”

Justice Padilla stressed the need for international legal norms to be adapted to the current conflict “between civilizations, races, economies, ideologies and generations,” and for new forms of international life and international organization to be created “which will set new norms to respond to the needs of new generations.”

What was most remarkable, however, and most encouraging, was the contribution of the Polish member of the panel, Manfred Lachs. It is well known that the concept of international law sustained by the Soviet Union and its allies has, until quite recently, been most

conservative. This was evident at PIT I, where American and European advocates of an expanding, progressive international law found themselves aligned against an adamant defense of the classical, restrictive concept, based on the inalienable sovereignty of national states, and applied through diplomacy, treaties and sanctions.

But at PIT II Justice Lachs emphasized more vigorously than anyone else the obsolescence of present international law and urged its “adaptation to the great changes wrought by the scientific and social revolutions.” “International law does not address itself to a timeless situation, but to a grim and changing reality.” Rapid change, thus, is the first characteristic of the present situation of international law. The second is its expansion, both vertical, in the sense that it tends to include spheres (economic, social, cultural) which thus far were beyond its scope, and horizontal: covering an ever-growing number of nations and legal systems and customs. The third characteristic, finally, is that international law is no longer necessarily enforced by sanctions but is to a certain extent self-enforcing: that is, as Lachs put it, “people would lose more than they would gain from a violation of international law.” American international lawyers call this “cooperative international law,” whose only, or chief, sanction is exclusion from the benefits of participation.

This has been a very synoptic view of a discussion that rallied some hundreds of the world’s greatest minds, resulted in more than fifty hours of video tape and about twice that much in sound track, which was covered by some 300 journalists and other representatives of the mass media. Many details have been omitted, in order to stress the unity of the discussions, the description of which has taken us full circle: Starting with the unitary, economic and racial foundation of the various apparently disconnected crises facing the world today, we have come around to the need for the development and expansion of international law and international organization. How this international law will have to be worked out in practice, how the available international organs and organizations can be made able to administer such a law, are questions that were barely hinted at during this convocation. It is to be hoped that future PIT convocations will carry on where this one left off—if there are future convocations.

As *Pacem in Terris* II came to its close, war broke out in the Middle East. International law was ignored; human rights ceased to exist; truth was blotted out. Ideology yielded to power politics. World order is that much further removed; we are that much closer to Armageddon.

Then came the emergency session of the UN General Assembly. Many of the delegates called upon to deliberate there were present and participated in the reasoned, decent discussions of PIT II. Somewhere in the back of their minds there must be echoes of those discussions. If these could contribute, however slightly, to create that “common language among the delegations” that Premier Kosygin augured in his opening address, our efforts would not have been in vain.

LETTER FROM BERLIN

C. AMERY

Mr. Amery is a German novelist and journalist who has done postgraduate work in American universities. He is the author of *Capitulation: The Lesson of German Catholicism* (Herder and Herder).

On June 2, a quiet, conscientious Berlin student by the name of Benno Ohnesorg was watching a rather lively scene in front of the opera house.

The Shah of Persia and his wife were visiting in Germany; vast police preparations had been made to protect them from the wrath of Persian students in West Germany and Berlin. These preparations had, in turn, stirred the convictions of the German students, and a series of booing, placard-carrying demonstrations materialized wherever the Shah turned up. On the night of June 2, he was attending the opera, and a small police army had been assembled to confront the crowd.

Suddenly, while the strains of *The Magic Flute* filled the opera house, the police charged. They had a plan: they encircled the crowd rather than dispersing it. And then they began beating. Not students only but any spectator within reach. The terrified demonstrators and on-lookers tried to break away. Some of them, including Benno Ohnesorg, managed to escape to the right. He was seen fleeing into a service yard down the street. There, pursuing policemen and others waiting surrounded him and a few others. A shot was fired. Ohnesorg, with bruises on his body and part of his skull missing, was brought to a university clinic, where he soon died. The bullet, it was found later, had been fired from behind and at close range. The gunner was a policeman named Kurass, well known as a crack shot on the police range.

If the incident was tragic, the immediate official reaction was infuriating. Berlin's mayor, formerly a Protestant minister and once a special protégé of Willy Brandt, displayed the reflexes of any "good German" by endorsing his police, and denying any undue brutality on their part. Police press headquarters issued two totally false versions of the incident (in the first, any shooting was denied; in the second, it was styled as self-defense) before admitting a possible malfeasance. Kurass, however, is not in custody and has filed suit against some student leaders for defamation. The police *Gewerkschaft* (trade union) of Berlin has been muttering threats about "ending the soft treatment of public criminals," and when public excitement mounted, the usual crooked retreat was made into qualifying statements, "impartial" investigations and general obfuscation.

But the students were awake. Benno Ohnesorg's funeral did not take place in Berlin but in Hannover, West Germany. The students streamed in and 5,000 of them from all over the republic followed the coffin under black flags. The overwhelming majority of these mourners were neat and well-groomed, further from Maoism or beatnik manners than most other German youth.

Up to now, Germany's students have not been known as a particularly active group. Their complaints have been mild, their patience with overcrowding, bad cafeteria food, lack of library facilities, astounding. Political groups had to recruit their few dozens of members from the fringes—either Right or Left. This youth had been spared the convulsions of the Weimar era; it had never seen dead and wounded on the streets.

This explains the electrifying effect of Ohnesorg's death. The first testimonials of students and other young people after the attack at the opera showed deep shock. "These policemen had unbridled faces," one girl said. (She was beaten over the head several times and kicked when lying on the ground.) These young people had never before seen the face of public violence.

And indeed, this physiognomy deserves close attention. Police brutality in handling crowds is not new and not confined to Germany. [See editorial "Was this Violence Necessary?" *The Nation*, July 17.] But the almost instinctive efforts to cover up, the refusal of police to face the consequences of their acts, the instantaneous "solidarity" of all higher-ups, the attempt to blame the victims for what had happened—need watching in a country with Germany's past.

Among the higher-ups, the Berlin newspapers were particularly ugly. The city's press is almost completely dominated by Herr Axel Caesar Springer, the Hamburg tycoon. He controls all but one of the Berlin dailies, the most important of his holdings being *Bild Zeitung*, a sheet built on headline sensation.

At one time, the students of the Free Berlin University were the darlings of the Springer press. That was when teams of semi-professional tunnel diggers undermined the Berlin Wall, when the *Frontstadt* atmosphere assiduously fostered by the papers nourished a parochial anti-communism. But since then, the climate at the university has changed: impatient with the intransigence of official East-West policy, eager for new approaches, the students began to favor left-wing causes. At the root of discontent, however, is another and strictly academic issue: the status of the university itself.

The Free University—largely under American sponsorship—was founded in 1949 with the most liberal constitution of any in Germany. It knew a high degree of student participation in all university affairs, but the old-fashioned majority of the faculty was unable or unwilling to work with such a liberal instrument and in the last two or three years relations between faculty and student body have become increasingly tense.

Since then, the Springer press has managed to isolate the students almost completely from the rest of the Berlin population, creating the impression that a bunch of "rowdies," of beatniks and longhairs—led, of course, by East German provocateurs—was terrorizing the peaceful citizenry of the *Frontstadt*. This divisive strategy has worked only too well. After Ohnesorg's death, students all over Germany started a unique kind of political action: they went on the streets of Berlin, Bonn and

Frankfurt, involving the public in personal discussions. They found embittered misunderstandings, distrust, fear of open argument. The fact is that a new scapegoat has been gradually emerging. The Jews being unavailable, and indeed showing themselves such good Prussians in their recent Sinai campaign (at least, that was the impression

given by the Springer press), the new scapegoat is the German intellectual. More exactly, the German student. Now, however, it is likely that the shot at the Berlin opera will echo for some time to come, and that the Shah, able to crush opposition in his own country, has inadvertently started a freedom movement in the West.

THE PAINTERS' UNION

Ventilating the House of Labor

BURTON HALL

Mr. Hall has been an attorney for insurgent, rank-and-file groups in several unions, including Painters' District Council No. 9.

In the past few months, the Brotherhood of Painters (AFL-CIO) has been rocked by a series of scandals, and there is a promise of more to come. Increasingly, the action centers around a growing rank-and-file movement, based most strongly in New York City and in San Francisco, which is demanding an end to unrepresentative machines within the union. As the rank-and-filers press their fight, they come more and more into conflict, not only with local leaders but with the top officials of the labor establishment. Every success they win points to new explosions ahead.

However, the federal court of New York gave a boost last month to the long and, until now, seemingly hopeless struggle of the house painters for honest trade unionism. The impact of its crucial decision may before long be painfully felt by the entrenched bureaucrats of "labor business," from George Meany and W. Willard Wirtz to the officials of the Brotherhood.

Until 1966, two local-area chieftains of the Painters' union enjoyed power and prestige that seemed unchallengeable. In the San Francisco Bay area, Ben Rasnick, chief of Painters' District Council 16, waging unremitting war against rebellious rank-and-filers, could count on the solid support of the Brotherhood's top officials, and on the refusal of the United States Labor Department to intervene within his domain. In New York, Martin Rarback, secretary-treasurer of Painters' District Council No. 9, whose domination of working painters and paper hangers has long been an ugly legend among union people, could similarly depend on the Brotherhood's top officials, as well as the bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO and the Labor Department, to back him up. Rasnick and Rarback, together with the Rafterys, father and son (the son recently succeeded the father), seemed for years to be the solidest pillars of domination of the union establishment.

Then both Rasnick and Rarback were hit by scandal—and more than scandal. Last year, Rasnick was indicted for the murder of two insurgent union leaders, Lloyd Green (financial secretary of the rebellious Painters' Local 1178 in Hayward, Calif.) and Dow Wilson (recording secretary of the huge, rambunctious Painters' Local 4 in San Francisco). Last spring he was convicted

of the Green murder, sentenced to life imprisonment, and still faces trial on an indictment for the murder of Wilson. In New York, Rarback was indicted for receiving bribes of \$840,000 or more to sell out the working conditions of painters in connection with City Housing Authority contracts. Some thirty-two employers and former city officials were implicated in the same case. The bribes to Rarback are alleged to be part of a larger conspiracy to rig bids for CHA contracts. So far, lawyers for Rarback and the employers have managed to stall the trial, which is now expected to take place this summer. But meanwhile, Rarback has been accused, by persons ranging from ordinary union members to the Senate McClellan committee, of a wide pattern of "sweet-heart" dealings with employers and labor racketeers.

At this point, the outsider may expect to be told that the "honest" and "respected" leaders of our nation have been striving to clean up the mess that has so suddenly exploded in two cities. But the real situation is just the opposite. George Meany and Secretary of Labor Wirtz have come out, along with the leadership of the Painters' union, *in defense* of those regimes, and *against* the rank-and-file movement.

Last October, when Rasnick (unbeknown to himself) was on the verge of indictment, he asked the Brotherhood to place trusteeships over three of the San Francisco local unions (including Local 1178) that opposed his rule. No sooner was he indicted than the Brotherhood's top officials obliged, reckoning, however, without the spirit of the membership. The three locals, along with Local 4, barred the doors to Raftery's trustees and forced the Brotherhood to sue its locals to enforce the trusteeship. When they did, the federal court in San Francisco took a close look at the situation and ruled the trusteeships invalid, saying that they had not been established in good faith for any lawful purpose. What makes the case nationally interesting is that the Department of Labor has taken the position—and takes it to this day—that these trusteeships are entirely valid.

(As background, it should perhaps be mentioned that Norman Call, the confessed murderer of Dow Wilson, has testified under oath that a man identifying himself as Rasnick told him that the leaders of the International wanted Wilson "eliminated." Also interesting is the longstanding friendship of Raftery and General Secretary, O. B. Satre with top officials of the Labor Department.

Rarback, too, was indicted in October—and his New

York City domain likewise became the stage for one of Raftery's trusteeships. The day after the indictment, Raftery appointed a "special trustee" for District Council No. 9, and within twenty-four hours of that appointment, the special trustee *reappointed* all of Rarback's assistants and appointees to positions of power in the New York District Council. Still more, a month and a half later, the special trustee reappointed Rarback himself as "coordinator" of a newly created "Organizing and Educational Department," from which post he has exercised all his former authority over the Council's affairs and dealt, openly as well as secretly, with employers. The New York trusteeship did, however, make one change of major importance: it canceled the election

trict Council and the Brotherhood of Painters. The Department of Labor soon came into the court battle, ranging itself solidly behind the Rarback and Raftery regimes and, when it appeared that the members were winning, Meany broke his silence of several months to declare that the Painters' officialdom was exemplary by his standards.

What happened in the court battle, aside from the ardent partisanship of the AFL-CIO and the Labor Department, is best told in the opinion handed down on June 16 by U.S. District Judge Marvin E. Frankel.

The plaintiffs, rank-and-file members, moved for a preliminary injunction on what the court called "lengthy



for Rarback's former post that had been scheduled for June, 1967, the effect being that Rarback could continue to rule—unofficially but indefinitely.

That set off the train of events that led to the court decision. The New York painters asked the Department of Labor to take action under the Landrum-Griffin Act against the phony trusteeship. When the Department refused—in the same pious manner that it has refused to take up any one of the more than two dozen Landrum-Griffin complaints filed by New York painters within the past six years—the New York members, along with representatives from San Francisco area locals, went to George Meany and the AFL-CIO Executive Council with a long train of grievances against their union. To speak with Meany at all, they had to catch him in the corridor at the Executive Council's meeting, and there won from him nothing more helpful than a short, angry denial that he, Meany, had had anything to do with the affair.

And so the New York painters, on their own, went to federal court against the combined power of the Dis-

trict Council and the Brotherhood of Painters. The Department of Labor soon came into the court battle, ranging itself solidly behind the Rarback and Raftery regimes and, when it appeared that the members were winning, Meany broke his silence of several months to declare that the Painters' officialdom was exemplary by his standards.

What happened in the court battle, aside from the ardent partisanship of the AFL-CIO and the Labor Department, is best told in the opinion handed down on June 16 by U.S. District Judge Marvin E. Frankel. The plaintiffs, rank-and-file members, moved for a preliminary injunction on what the court called "lengthy and detailed affidavits." Sketching them briefly, the court's opinion said that

the affidavits made, and documented, allegations that there had been long years of corruption in the District Council; a long tenure of tyrannical repression by the Council's Secretary-Treasurer, Martin Rarback; management of the Council's affairs over many years for the personal interests of Rarback and his allies at the expense of the working membership; and a steady pattern of indifference or collusion by the Brotherhood despite numerous appeals by dissident individual members.

Citing the reappointment of Rarback and his supporters, as well as the trustee's failure to investigate charges of corruption, the affidavits alleged (as the court's opinion put it) "that the trusteeship amounted to a 'front' or 'cover' for retaining control by the discredited—or at least seriously suspect—Rarback regime."

By contrast, the opposing affidavits of the trustee and of General President Raftery swore to their own good faith but (again quoting the court's opinion) "left wholly or partly unanswered questions of a serious nature."

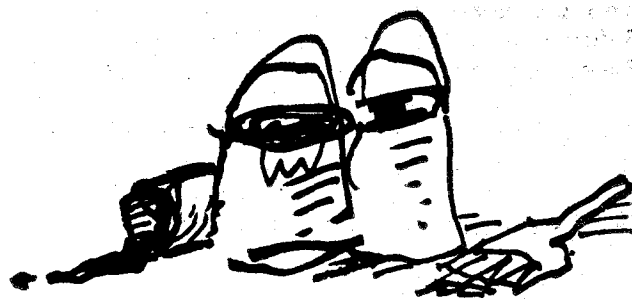
Like: "What, if anything, had the Trustee done about the alleged problems of corruption? What investigation, if any, had he made before reinstating all the members of Rarback's administration other than Rarback himself? What had led to the new role of Rarback and how important was that role? How did it happen that after years of inaction, the indictment of Rarback had led to the instantaneous imposition of the trusteeship?"

To find answers to these questions, the court ordered a full-scale hearing, at which witnesses could testify as to the real story behind the District Council No. 9 trusteeship. What was revealed casts a bleak light on the nature of the trade union establishment in the 1960s.

The plaintiffs testified openly and answered freely on cross-examination. Among them were such militant intra-union rebels as Frank Schonfeld, the Bronx painter who has been leading a struggle against Rarback since 1960; Carl Blum, the woodwork finisher (a craft within the painters' jurisdiction) who has led, and been blacklisted for, the struggle of his fellow finishers against employer chiseling on wages and hours and against Rarback's "sweetheart" dealing with employers, and Bill Papson, Frank Loria, David James, Harold Robins, Sam Winn—rank-and-filers who have borne the brunt these many years of Rarback's domination of his opponents within the union. Their testimony was in marked contrast to the testimony of the special trustee, which Judge Frankel's opinion described as part of "a train of evasive, misleading, and plainly untrue testimony for defendants." Except for the special trustee himself, no official of the Brotherhood came forward to testify and be cross-examined, under oath, as to the reasons for the establishment of the trusteeship.

The evidence at the hearing told, first of all, of the long years through which the officials of the Brotherhood, from General President Raftery (father and son) down to General Representative Harry Altman, had backed the Rarback administration's betrayals of the union membership, its "faithless representation" of the working house painters. When woodwork finishers (headed by Carl Blum) brought suit in court, accusing Rarback of selling them out to their employers (the federal court in that case upheld their charges, finding "a wealth of facts and acts" indicating sweetheart dealing), Rarback pleaded the Fifth Amendment to every question, except as to his name. Since the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Code forbids a union official to stay in office if he chooses to invoke the Fifth Amendment in regard to union business, the finishers demanded an investigation. Under urging from Meany, so the court's opinion in the trusteeship case recounts, "General President Raftery proceeded to call a meeting—to which was invited none of the 21 plaintiffs who had filed the complaint of 'sweetheart' dealings, held by this court to state a valid claim—at the end of which he concluded that 'the complaint involved no charges of misuse of union funds or corruption in any form.'"

The evidence showed the pattern of Rarback's hegemony—and of the consistent backing of Rarback by the Brotherhood's officials. Moreover, it showed (still quoting from the court's opinion) that,



while it has dealt harshly with members who were not compliant, the Rarback administration appears to have been an amiable one for at least many employers who have not been zealous to honor the rights of union members. Contract provisions governing hours, safety and other working conditions have been violated on a wide scale. Inspection and enforcement measures have lain fallow. Members who complained and protested have been "blacklisted" by employers, with no defensive or retaliatory measures being taken by the union. . . .

Why, then, had the trusteeship been established? The first announcement, made by Raftery in appointing the special trustee, had mentioned "dissension and controversy among the membership," as well as damage to the "image" of the District Council, all due to "widespread publicity" concerning "allegations" of corruption, collusive bidding, bribery, etc. But when it came time for Raftery to indicate the reason in his official report to the Labor Department, he left a blank in the box labeled, "To correct corruption or financial malpractice," and checked, instead, "To assure the performance of collective bargaining agreements or other duties of a bargaining representative." And this became the official response of the trustee when he was questioned in court. Asked why the trusteeship had been established, he replied that it was *not* established because of dishonesty or wrongdoing but because "turmoil" among the members, and a "power struggle" on the part of rank-and-filers seeking to clean up corruption, had caused the Rarback administration to be "lax" in enforcing its collective bargaining agreements. It was, said the Labor Department, in a brief submitted after the hearing of evidence, a perfectly allowable reason for a trusteeship, so what was all the fuss about?

The brief went on to argue, ardently, that the officials of the Painters' union were distinguished leaders and that any worker who challenged them was clearly misguided, demented, or maybe un-American.

During the hearing, the judge repeatedly pointed out to the union's attorneys that some testimony from an international official who could say why the trusteeship had been established was necessary to their case. Raftery and Satre were easily available; General Vice President Di Silvestro was in New York City; General Representative Altman, the Brotherhood's factotum in the New York area, was actually in the courtroom during most of the hearing. But the brass remained mum..

The trustee talked of numerous reforms instituted, he said, by himself. But the evidence showed that he had allowed Rarback to write and edit the new, "impartial"

newspaper published under trusteeship auspices (the trustee admitted that Rarback had used District Council No. 9's newspaper as his private organ, to vilify his opponents and distort their views, and to trumpet his own virtues). It showed that under the trusteeship Rarback and Altman had used their prerogatives as officers to hold "special" meetings, at which they traduced their rank-and-file critics and boasted of their own virtues—meanwhile denying to ordinary members the right to answer, or even discuss, their denunciations. It showed that, as the court's opinion delicately put it, "the practice of electoral frauds has continued into the period of the trusteeship," and that, in intra-union discipline, "due process has not flourished under the Trustee." It showed that Rarback continued to exercise considerable authority over business agents, and that "representatives of key employers continue to deal with him as the effective negotiator and decider, whether or not his decisions need the formal imprimatur of the Trustee." It showed, finally, "that plaintiffs are correct in their assertion that Rarback's continued dominance, and anticipated resumption of the post for which the Trustee has indefinitely postponed an election, must be plain for anyone to see."

Though in an earlier affidavit, the trustee had sworn that charges of corruption were the "main bases" for the trusteeship, he had taken no interest whatever in the charges of corruption in the Rarback regime. He reappointed all of Rarback's men. He admitted that the bargaining agreement was not being, and had not been, enforced in the area of city-contracted work (the area giving rise to the indictment of Rarback), but he had done nothing whatever to find out who was responsible. As for democracy in the Council, his actions had been entirely on the side of the entrenched officialdom and against the rank-and-file critics. Said Judge Frankel,

although his mission purportedly includes the restoration of democratic processes in the Council, the trustee has revealed that this objective amounts to "window dressing" to all practical intents and purposes. In these circumstances, the Trustee's decision—said by him to have been made jointly with Raftery—to allow an election at the end of this month only for offices other than the Secretary-Treasurer's is revealed as part of a larger plan to maintain the political status quo in the Council with the least possible disturbance and without genuine reform. The "freeze" the Trustee has ordered, considered in the light of the way he has handled his stewardship, makes his role in effect one of caretaker for the Rarback forces. The reinstatement of Rarback to a strategic post reinforces this effect. Together with the retention of the whole Rarback apparatus of personnel, it makes probable the return of a Rarback slate to all the places under the one from which Rarback stands suspended. For the membership, long accustomed either to obey or face the retaliatory power of those in charge, will be reluctant to attempt rebellion against a group now at the helm with the apparent strength of the Brotherhood behind them.

The unchallenged evidence of continued official indifference to corruption, of official "neutrality" which aimed at keeping the Rarback regime in power and sup-

pressing rank-and-file opposition, of continued sellout or other betrayal of the workers' rights, left the court with the finding that "The primary reason for establishing the trusteeship was to maintain the status quo in the Council as nearly as possible and thwart the efforts of Rarback's opponents to achieve power by democratic means." Accordingly, the trusteeship was invalid under the law, for it "was not established, and has not been maintained, in good faith for a lawful purpose." The court had no choice but to invalidate it and order elections for *all* District Council offices.

But the evidence had shown that the practice ("vividly demonstrated to have continued into the Trustee's era") of "stuffing the ballot boxes with fictitious votes" made it highly improbable that under its current officials, the District Council would ever conduct a fair election. So the court ordered that the election for Secretary-Treasurer and business agents—the "entire election process" and not merely the counting of ballots—was to be supervised by the American Arbitration Association. The prospect, therefore, is that the new elections (scheduled for September 16, 1967) will finally assure rank-and-file house painters of a fair and honest election.

The process of upheaval appears to have begun already. On the day the court's decision was handed down, the insurgent Frank Schonfeld was elected chairman of Local 1011, one of the larger local unions of the District Council, despite a propaganda barrage captained by the Brotherhood's general representative, the same Harry Altman, which denounced Schonfeld as "Frank Skunkfeld," a "Commie," a "Trotskyite" and a supporter of the Arabs against the Jews (Local 1011, a former Yiddish-speaking local, is predominantly Jewish). The movement that has erupted in Local 1011 shows signs of sweeping the entire 10,000-member District Council.

Where does that leave the Brotherhood's top officials? With rebellions on the road to success in San Francisco and New York, and with still nascent rebellions in Cleveland, Chicago, Buffalo, Philadelphia and Washington, among other cities, and following upon the heels of the Rasnick and Rarback scandals, their throne—for the first time in well over half a century—is beginning to shake. And the top officials of the Department of Labor (almost to a man, former top officials of the building trades and building service unions), may soon be made to face the embarrassing fact that they have taken no action, all these years, to protect the rights of union members victimized by the Rasnicks, the Rarbacks and their cohorts. Not since the McClellan hearings of 1958-59 has Congress investigated internal union dictatorships—and never has it taken a close look at the way in which the Labor Department, a peculiarly wheelish-and-dealish patronage body, has carried out the enormously important responsibilities which the Landrum-Griffin (or Kennedy-Ervin) Act placed upon it.

Perhaps the uprising in the Painters' union will be seen as the opportunity for such scrutiny. At the least, the painters' uprising may challenge the conservative regime in the AFL-CIO—and in its bureaucratic core. That in itself could signal the beginning of new vitality for the almost forgotten labor movement.

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Soldiering in Innocence

BATTLES IN THE MONSOON: Campaigning in the Central Highlands, Vietnam, Summer 1966. By S. L. A. Marshall. William Morrow and Co. 408 pp. \$6.95.

JOHN N. MORRIS

Mr. Morris is a poet who will be an associate professor of English at Washington University this fall. He is the author of *Versions of the Self* (Basic Books).

I once knew a Marine Corps machine-gun platoon sergeant whose favorite author was Jane Austen and who kept R. W. Chapman's Oxford edition of her works on a shelf above his barracks bed. Though not a man of wide culture, he had tried other novelists, but always he returned to her. She was more satisfying, he said, because she was more realistic. Given the nature and distractions of the art they practice, it is too much to expect of soldiers that many of them should display such sensitivity to the written word. Military men are, of course, great traffickers in the symbolism of things and gestures, and salutes and braid are sometimes capable of subtler meanings than the outsider easily perceives. Their apparent unambiguity lulls attention. Thus, when General Westmoreland, concluding his performance before Congress this spring, responded to applause with a salute, his intention was clearly to reassure us, to acknowledge as his own the traditional American understanding of the army as a servant of the people, represented by the legislature to which he seemed to defer. His gesture of respect was intended to convey that he was not the instrument of the Executive will alone but of the rest of us as well, and that he was content that this should be so. But this particular salute, suggesting as it did that reassurance on this point is something we need, struck me as implying with at least equal clarity the precise opposite of its intended meaning.

General Westmoreland was, I am sure, personally innocent of any sinister intent. But it is in the nature of any war to corrupt communications. Every war, to be sure, has its own language, which those at home can never speak or perfectly understand. But the truth about this one seems particularly difficult to tell—and the difficulty is one which it is particularly important to

overcome. For there is more to the Vietnamese War than the political and moral issues about which so many of us draw confident conclusions. No doubt these are the major considerations. But for good or ill, combat in Vietnam is already and irrevocably a fact of American experience. For the increasing thousands of Americans who have fought there the primary moral dimensions of the war are naturally and rightly very different from those that we at home perceive. Whatever we think of the martial virtues, or whether we think them virtues at all, to soldier is to live the moral life intensely—or so says the *Iliad*. And, however dimly, it is thus that those who return from this worst war in our history will conceive of their experience. If we are to understand them, the quality of their experience as a felt thing must gain entry to the imaginations of even those who most deplore its monstrous occasion.

And we must understand. The Vietnamese are the principal victims of this war, but not the only ones. The role of those innocent Americans—I do not speak of the jovial murderers to be found in every army, including the North Vietnamese—who daily risk their lives to no purpose or for an immoral one, is, in a strict sense of the term, tragic. To think of them in such fashion is not to indulge in the pleasures of literary or aesthetic emotion. To accord them the measure of respect they deserve is to begin to see them as clearly and take them as seriously as for sound political reasons we had better do. For when they come to understand the futility, if perhaps never the immorality, of the projects in which their innocence has been abused, it may well be they, who fought the war, not we who oppose it, who will become the unassimilable, volatile and irresponsible community of subversion and dissidence.

In this effort of understanding we have so far had little assistance. Celebrations of heroism, of course, tell no truth. On the other hand, the sober prose of *The New York Times* almost never comes close to the actualities that underlie its abstractions. But from Brig. Gen. S. L. A. Marshall, the military historian and author of such works as *Men Against Fire*, *The River and the Gauntlet* and *Pork Chop Hill*, more was to

be expected. The experience of combat is something he clearly understands. "Composing the large battle are any number of small fights, little connected, and sometimes at cross-purposes one with the other," he reminds us, in passing, in his new book, *Battles in the Monsoon*, an account of campaigns last summer in the central highlands of Vietnam. "Each is local and limited in the feelings of the men who engage. Company fights company, platoon goes against platoon. How the regiment or brigade fared as a whole is something that has to be computed later." General Marshall's business, here as in other of his books, is to make sense of this chaos, while providing us with a sense of its reality. In group interviews conducted while memories are fresh, soldiers detail to him their recollections of an engagement and emend the accounts of one another. In General Marshall's hands the result is often a narrative—at once abstract and particular—in which both the pattern of the action as it can only in retrospect be understood, and the immediacies of the experience of combat are rendered in a manner that carries conviction even for someone like myself who has never been to war. In short, General Marshall can tell us what we need to know.

But not, by and large, in *Battles in the Monsoon*. Many of the virtues of his earlier books are indeed present. He makes comprehensible the incredible complexity of individual engagements and the ingenuity, foolishness and courage with which soldiers respond to danger. He clearly describes the new tactics that have evolved in Vietnam. But something is wrong. The difficulty is not merely that his understanding of the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese is, to say the least, a very simple one: they are the *enemy*. Political feeling is not absent from this book, but it is not directed against soldiers. The men he writes about do not exercise their lethal skills against Communists but against the VC, "Charley," the NVA—abstractions that have the dangerous habit of materializing, gun in hand. In this respect at least, our army remains as unpolitical as we could wish. The real defect of this book lies elsewhere and expresses itself in a certain crudity of language—and therefore of feeling—that suggests to me, because it is new in his

prose, that General Marshall's scarcely acknowledgeable notions about this war are disorderly and troublesome to him. Perhaps I read too much into his phrases, but it seems to me that the tasteless geniality with which he often writes betrays an uncomfortable sense of the moral vulnerability of our army in this war, a vulnerability which, in his loyalty to the military, he must somehow defy.

"As the first light fulfilled," General Marshall writes, "Puff the Magic Dragon came flying up the valley. This C-47 mounts three 7.62 mm mini-guns, today's high-polish edition of the old Gatling, each of which can pour out 5400 rounds per minute; it's a blast." Marshall is not to be blamed for the grisly whimsy of the name given this machine—inspired, one supposes, by a children's book—for men have often invented friendly names for things not pleasant but necessary to think about. But the prose sets one's teeth on edge. Note the attempts at modish sprightliness—"fulled," "mini-guns," "high-polish edition"—and that light-hearted phrase, "it's a blast." *Battles in the Monsoon* is spoken of by the blurb writer as "packing even more excitement than *Pork Chop Hill*," and for this conception of battle as a particularly exhilarating spectator sport Marshall's way with language is largely responsible. When Marshall says that a Lt. Carl V. Hunt, Jr., "gunned this blighter down," he is resorting, as vainly as a sports writer, to a variation in phrase that is supposed somehow to render the uniqueness of this member in a series of similar actions. "Bright" writing of this sort is not suited to these occasions, for it trivializes them. The language of advertising is similarly vulgar and cheapening, as when the encouragement of the North Vietnamese to defect is spoken of as persuading them to "come on over to the L&M (Legal & Magnanimous) side."

There is, it seems to me, something a little desperate and certainly disquieting about this insistent geniality—especially since it is new to General Marshall's prose. For at least in those earlier works of his that I have read, Marshall is a serious and intelligent man. *The River and the Gauntlet* is not only a first-rate piece of reporting and military analysis; unrhetorical, intimately engaged with its subject on every level of feeling, it contrives without false sentiment to treat the disasters that overcame the U.S. Eighth Army in November of 1950 in tones of such somber irony as to permit us to contemplate that defeat as something very like

tragedy. Soldiers and officers seem always to be struggling with ignorant and admirable persistence against circumstances over which no one has much control and for whose disastrous consequences no simple blame can be attached. Battle, in these narratives, is implicitly conceived of as a paradigm of our more general situation.

This sort of seriousness Marshall has abandoned in *Battles in the Monsoon*. The reason, I believe, has to do with the nature of the present war, which presents itself to Marshall as the first in which the energies of our armies have not been continuous with the will of the people—even if that will, as at the time of the Korean War, expressed itself indistinctly and sporadically. Marshall's stance has always been adversary; he has always been critical of incompetence and

cowardice, in soldiers and governments. (One of his virtues as a military journalist has been, and still is, to admit that some soldiers—and now and then he names them—behave badly in combat.) But never before has he felt the army he properly loves to have been betrayed. Such rhetoric as "treason by a rabble" is scarce here, but the emotion that this phrase of his expresses, manifesting itself in the new, willed, defiant "toughness" of his prose, corrupts too many pages of Marshall's latest book. When so intelligent and sensitive a soldier as he misunderstands so much, what may we expect of the rest? And when General Marshall can find it reasonable to call "some senators" "poltroons," what (on second thought) may indeed have been General Westmoreland's thoughts that day in Congress?

Hanoi and the Front

THE UNITED STATES IN VIETNAM. By George McT. Kahin and John W. Lewis. The Dial Press. 465 pp. \$5.95. Paper \$2.95.

VIETNAM: LOTUS IN A SEA OF FIRE. By Thich Nhat Hanh. Hill & Wang. 115 pp. \$3.50. Paper \$1.25.

JONATHAN MIRSKY

Mr. Mirsky teaches Chinese at Dartmouth College. He is one of the contributors to *Peace in Vietnam: A New Approach in Southeast Asia* (Hill and Wang).

On June 4, John Mecklin, sometime Public Affairs Officer in Saigon, published a long review article in the Sunday *New York Times* book section. In it he lamented that Bernard Fall (whom he otherwise praised) tended "occasionally to lean too heavily on debatable materials. For example, he contends that the Vietcong revolt in the late fifties was spontaneous and indeed contrary to the wishes of the Hanoi government."

Mecklin's survey of books worth reading on the Vietnamese War omits mention of *The United States in Vietnam*. Had he read it he would not have so casually rapped Fall's knuckles, for the origins of the struggle are shown definitely to have been what Mecklin suggests they were not.

There are many for whom certain unresolved questions on the war create a paralysis of will or of decision. Did Hanoi really start the war in the south? Was communism about to engulf Indonesia? Was it stopped only because the generals in Jakarta took heart from United States determination in

Vietnam? Haven't the Chinese been stirring up trouble for fifteen years in Southeast Asia? Good questions such as these cause men of good will to stand frozen in their tracks muttering despairingly that it's all too complicated.

Help is on the way. George McT. Kahin is professor of government at Cornell and director there of the Southeast Asia Program; he is a leading Western scholar on the area. John W. Lewis, associate professor of government, has written substantially on modern Chinese politics. Between them they have written the most lucid and fully documented study of America's Vietnamese expedition yet to appear.

Their book is broad in scope and absorbing in detail, relying on a great range of sources in several languages and offering its documentation discreetly, but usefully.

After a succinct but comprehensive historical chapter, *The United States in Vietnam* covers the period from the French war to Geneva (the treaty itself is discussed with an admirable clarity which should retire several hardy myths), and then proceeds through the Diem period to the beginning and enlargement of the Americanization of the war. There are two excellent chapters on China's foreign policy (showing Peking's striving since Bandung to get on with regimes of any persuasion which avoid entanglements with Washington) and on America's other Southeast Asian involvements. Six maps, four tables, and 50 pages of appendices (including the Geneva and SEATO treaties, various NLF statements, Hanoi's Four

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Oran R. Young

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Princeton University Press



Points, and the Honolulu declaration) make up the volume.

The essentially civil nature of the war, despite frantic obfuscations from two Washington administrations, has been known for several years. Not only have Fall, Devillers, Lacouture and Chaffard shown it to be so but the State Department's own White Paper of 1965 inadvertently proved it as well.

The question hitherto not adequately treated is the extent of Hanoi's involvement. It is here that Kahin and Lewis make their most substantial contribution; it is the subject which John Mecklin, David Halberstam and other agonized journalists will not face.

In sum, the insurrection is Southern rooted; it arose at Southern initiative in response to Southern demands. The Liberation Front gave political articulation and leadership to the widespread reaction against the harshness and heavy-handedness of Diem's government. . . . Contrary to United States policy assumptions, all available evidence shows that the revival of the civil war in the South in 1958 was undertaken by Southerners at their own—not Hanoi initiation . . . not as a consequence of any dictate from Hanoi but contrary to Hanoi's injunctions (my italics).

The evidence here is striking, convincing, and new. In 1956 and 1957, various political groups in South Vietnam began to gather in the *maquis* to oppose Diem's oppression of all those enemies he conveniently labeled *Viet-cong*. This has been previously well shown by Devillers. Less widely known, however, is that in 1958 there came into being in the south a clandestine radio, calling for resistance to Saigon and using the name National Liberation Front. In 1958 and 1959, the Hanoi Radio regularly attacked these southern broadcasts, first of all as being American sponsored! Other charges were that they were sowing dissension among classes, stirring up violence and, worst of all, creating a situation in which a return to Geneva and a political settlement from which Hanoi felt sure of emerging victorious would be impossible.

The crucial evidence for this antagonistic North Vietnamese attitude, cited by Kahin and Lewis, is found in Vietnam Presse Bulletin d'Informations Confidentielles, a series of monitorings of Hanoi broadcasts made in Saigon and circulated with circumspection among leading government figures in the Diem regime.

Not until September, 1960, did Hanoi give support to the National Liberation Front. Even then, material aid was slow

in coming. As late as 1963, General Harkins (Westmoreland's predecessor) was able to state that: "The guerrillas are not being reinforced, or systematically supplied by North Vietnam, China or anywhere else." (*Washington Post*, March 6, 1963.)

There is much else of interest in this book. In a chapter entitled "The Global Context" Kahin's long experience with Indonesian affairs enables him to show that the government in Java, with the blood of hundreds of thousands of "Communists" still fresh on its hands, called for American "imperialists" to leave Vietnam. Foreign Minister Malik is unmistakable on this point as are editorials in the army's newspaper *Berita Yudha*.

The United States in Vietnam should be "Information, Please!" of the peace movement. It is hard to imagine anyone reading this book and continuing to maintain that we should stay in Vietnam. The foundations of such belief whether moral or geographical can no longer bear much weight.

The problem of shoring up these foundations within Vietnam itself was recognized early by President Eisenhower. In *Mandate for Change* he wrote that it ". . . was almost impossible to make the average Vietnamese peasant realize that the French, under whose rule his people had lived for some eighty years, were really fighting in the cause of freedom, while the Vietminh, people of their own ethnic origins, were fighting on the side of slavery."

Thich Nhat Hanh, a Vietnamese Buddhist monk and scholar, is a voice from "the inside" insisting on the same fact:

The peasants are too frightened to do anything but support the Viet-cong, according to the informants in America. This is simply not true. The fact is that the Front has the support of a considerable number of the peasants because it has been able to persuade them that this is in fact the struggle for national independence. The spirit of patriotism among the peasants is very high. They are not informed about world history or ideological struggles; what they see is a large force of white Westerners doing their best to kill their fellow countrymen many of whom fought against the French. The peasants do not see the victims of the American military effort as dead Communists, but as dead patriots.

Those who met Thich Nhat Hanh in this country last year will not soon forget his modesty, his intensity or his presence. Since then he has traveled in Europe, had an audience with Pope

Paul, and been warned not to return to Saigon.

What can we learn from *Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire*? It is unique in that it describes in the tones of a Vietnamese an ancient, complex and fascinating culture, not mired in the ooze of the dead past and inhabited not by mindless rice eaters who sporadically terrorize their neighbors but by human beings who "cannot help being intensely patriotic . . . who know very well that no patriotism can be expressed through support of a government that is in fact a puppet, created and maintained by external power." These peasants are "constantly torn between an almost instinctive support of the Front in its battle against 'imperialism' and the desire to follow the advice of their religious leaders who warn them against supporting communism in their country."

Thich Nhat Hanh and his supporters in the Buddhist church and laity know very well, however, that: "In the past ten years anti-communism has become Vietnam's most profitable business." He is at great pains to separate himself from such a business and returns repeatedly to Buddhism as an expression of faith, a state of mind, and a potent political force. The first part of his book is, therefore, a meticulous and learned history of Buddhism in Vietnam. He then turns to the impress of foreign occupation and the reaction of devout and patriotic Buddhists who have acted, he insists, in response to the call of the Vietnamese people for succor and leadership. He suggests that not until the Vietnamese are free to settle their own affairs can the violence of seventy-five years come to an end. It is to the condition of a people agonizing in decades of such violence that the Buddhist church cries out.

In July, 1949, Dean Acheson sent a memorandum to Philip Jessup, recently appointed chairman of a committee to examine the situation in Asia since the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek. In it we see the historic interest of this country in Indo-China, an area into which we plainly have not stumbled by mistake:

You will please take as your assumption that it is a fundamental decision of American policy that the United States does not intend to permit further extension of Communist domination on the continent of Asia or in the southeast Asia area. . . . What I desire is the examination of the problem on the general assumptions indicated above in order to make absolutely certain that we are neglecting no opportunity that would be within our capabilities to achieve the pur-

pose of halting the spread of totalitarian communism in Asia.

How falsely this rings when we listen to Thich Nhat Hanh (now in exile from his own country) reflect on quite another interest:

The peasants are not concerned about ideology: no one can frighten them with stories of the evils of Communism. With their property already

destroyed, they do not fear that the Communists will take their property, and if one speaks to them of freedom and democracy, they say, "Of what use is freedom and democracy if one is not alive to enjoy them?" So it is clear that the first problem of the Vietnamese peasant is the problem of life itself: how to survive in the midst of all the forces that threaten him; how to cling to life itself.

tion or exalted identification are strategies by which the creative impulse can be liberated from inhibition. At one point he approaches an insight of this kind: "Does the act of speech, which defines man, not also go beyond him in rivalry to God?" But he really seems to mean "God" in a literal, metaphysical sense rather than a metaphorical, psychological sense (disconcerting in a writer who does not commit himself to any theism), and he retreats into ineffability: "It is just because we can go no further, because speech so marvelously fails us, that we experience the certitude of a divine meaning surpassing and enfolding ours."

What I find irritating in much of this is the covert moral snobbery. Steiner seems to ask us to join an "elite of conscience" (a phrase he used recently in *The New York Review of Books*) in order to get a kind of vengeful pleasure in scorning others: those who don't suffer enough in remembering the Nazis (we must still *envy* the actual victims: see the essay, "A Kind of Survivor"), those who tolerate the vulgarities of democracy, and those who lack the vision to see that the era of verbal primacy is at an end and that a

An Elite Conscience

LANGUAGE AND SILENCE: Essays on Language, Literature, and the Inhuman. By George Steiner. Atheneum Publishers. 426 pp. \$10.

DAVID J. GORDON

Mr. Gordon teaches English at Hunter College. He is the author of *D. H. Lawrence as a Literary Critic* (Yale University Press).

George Steiner's vigorous new book deserves to be vigorously challenged. It is written with great moral intensity and rhetorical resourcefulness but with high-handed logic; to adapt a phrase of Henry James's, it sets our imagination against our judgment. Two large, seductive ideas dominate its pages: (a) A long-standing ideal of humane literacy has been shattered by our knowledge that Nazi barbarism "sprang from the core of humanistic civilization," and by the vulgarization of language in mass-consumer (especially American) democracies; (b) language, now in a state of unprecedented crisis, is being superseded by mathematics, music and silence, but may yet be saved by something called communism (a blend, it seems, of Karl Marx and Marshall McLuhan).

It is shocking that Nazi barbarism sprang from a high civilization. (But why "core"? The phrase "Central European Humanism" is used throughout in the curiously private sense of "uniquely objective and cosmopolitan.") And it is shocking to know that a man could read Goethe or Rilke at night, and gas other men in the morning. To Steiner this knowledge destroys "the hope grown almost axiomatic from the time of Plato to the time of Matthew Arnold, that culture is a humanizing force, that the energies of spirit are transferable to those of conduct." For "if the humanities are humane, why did they fail before the night?" Literature may even be directly responsible for inhumanity by deflecting our concern from the real to the imaginary.

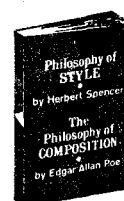
Steiner would make literature the scapegoat for all human sins. But litera-

ture cannot bear so much or redeem so much. Plato knew that the arts humanize us by exercising our feelings, not by supervising our conduct. The creators of Iago and Raskolnikov knew that intellectual sophistication does not preclude inhuman behavior. (How many Nazis, by the way, were so sophisticated?) Steiner does not take the opportunity to correct the excessive claims for the humanities made by Arnold—and by Henry Sidgwick and F. R. Leavis, whom he later implicates. One reason, clearly, is that his own bent is strongly Arnoldian.

It is *he* who will not surrender a religious claim for the Word: "Language is both miracle and outrage, sacrament and blasphemy." Inherently it is neither, and Steiner is led by his absolutism into flagrant overstatements and inconsistencies. The only way to read a classic is to be possessed as by an epileptic seizure; he who does not read this way "may technically be able to read print, but is illiterate in the only sense that matters."

He sees the writing of literary criticism as "a defeat . . . a bleak coming to terms with the ash and grit of one's limited talent"; yet "the dominant characteristic of the present literary scene is the excellence of"—among related forms—"the critical essay." The teaching of literature is demoralized and demoralizing, yet "to guide someone through *Lear* or the *Oresteia* is to take into one's hands the springs of his being." "Language itself is a supreme act of community," but "the living truth is no longer sayable." Resembling a prophet of the Word, Steiner tends to announce Divine Judgment unless we Repent Now. "Our civilization, by virtue of the inhumanity it has carried out and condoned, [has perhaps] forfeited its claim . . . to literature"—unless it accepts the "beautiful" temptation of silence.

One surmises from all this that the creative use of language is felt by Steiner as a defiant act accompanied by guilt, and that submissive renuncia-



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new era of total sensibility is at hand.

How does Steiner persuade us that language has degenerated to a point of unprecedented crisis? He trots out the familiar false comparison of past peaks and present averages: "Compare the vitality of language implicit in Shakespeare . . . with our present vulgate." (Why not a comparison of unlettered Anne Hathaway and erudite George Steiner to illustrate the *progress* of literacy?) He asserts, unreasonably, that buyers of paperbacks do not read them with the same involvement that men used to read books.

But Steiner's chief evidence is that certain innovative modernists, such as Hermann Broch and Samuel Beckett, raise the question in their art of getting beyond language altogether. Steiner consistently confuses the idea of surpassing fiction with the idea of extending it. Fiction that explores its own limits is still fiction; what actually goes beyond language is irrelevant to it. And the relation of literary experiment to social health is more complex than he indicates. I agree that such experiment, when it is not mere horseplay, reflects an exacerbation of sensibility for which an oppressive society is partly responsible. But it also reflects a salutary ability, partly made possible by a relatively free society, to master disturbing ideas by means of artistic play.

Steiner has little sense of language as a mental activity. "Reality now begins outside verbal language. Mathematicians know this." What can this mean? Mathematics is also a language, a symbolic system, a way of talking about what we presume to be the real state of things. Since he externalizes mental life in this way, it is only somewhat surprising that he should unwittingly describe his own qualities in his objections to those he calls Masters: the prophetic stance and underlying puritanism of F. R. Leavis; the arrogance and snobbery of Claude Lévi-Strauss; the contempt for the irrational of Georg Lukács; and the apocalyptic bias of Marshall McLuhan.

Steiner is at his very best in a handful of more modest pieces buried in the middle of his big book—on Günter Grass, Arnold Schoenberg, the Bible, Shakespeare, Prosper Mérimée, and Mann's *Felix Krull*. Giving his conscience a holiday, he here takes pleasure in, and lets us take pleasure in, his sensitivity to literary texture, his access to wide and relevant allusion, and his ability to phrase truisms attractively and even delicately.

But the heavy hand of high seriousness tends to stifle such pleasure in the first and last thirds of his book. He hates the "frivolity" of literary studies

in the West, and admires their "desperate seriousness" in Communist countries: "To shoot a man because one disagrees with his interpretation of Darwin or Hegel is a sinister tribute to the supremacy of ideas in human affairs—but a tribute nevertheless." The implication of this statement seems to me inevitable, although Steiner, an avowed anti-Stalin-

ist, would, I trust, wince at having it spelled out: killing for an ideal one regards as high is preferable to what one regards as frivolity; an ideal of humane literacy, carried out *absolutistically*, has become itself inhuman.

Language and Silence left me wondering about the problematic nature of an elite conscience.

African Bookshelf

AFRICA: History of a Continent. By Basil Davidson. Photographs by Werner Forman. The Macmillan Co. 320 pp. \$25.

A HISTORY OF WEST AFRICA TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Basil Davidson (with F. K. Buah and the advice of J. F. Ade Ajayi). Doubleday & Co. 342 pp. \$1.45 paper.

AFRICAN GLORY: The Story of Vanished Negro Civilizations. By J. C. deGraft-Johnson. Walker & Co. 211 pp. \$4.95.

POLITICAL CHANGE IN A WEST AFRICAN STATE: A Study of the Modernization Process in Sierra Leone. By Martin Kilson. Harvard University Press. 301 pp. \$6.95.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF EAST AFRICA: Studies in Political Anthropology. Edited by Stanley Diamond and Fred G. Burke. Basic Books. 623 pp. \$16.50.

PORTUGAL AND AFRICA, 1815-1910: A Study in Uneconomic Imperialism. By R. J. Hammond. Stanford University Press. 384 pp. \$8.50.

CRISIS IN RHODESIA. By Nathan M. Shamuyarira. Foreword by Sir Hugh Foot. Transatlantic Arts. 240 pp. \$7.95.

GWENDOLEN M. CARTER

Miss Carter is director of the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University.

The American interest in Africa is almost a contemporary phenomenon. For all that, or perhaps because of it, the wealth of excellent material being produced by scholars and publicists now bids fair to outstrip that on other developing areas. Those who have been close observers of its spectacular drive to independence during the last decade know the fascination of Africa's vast variety of peoples and landscape; they know of the complex interaction between its traditional mores and rapidly spreading modernization, of newly discovered historical records and archaeological sites, and of the wealth of music, art

and literature which it has long produced. Both they and those who are being introduced more summarily to Africa through the daily headlines will welcome this season's crop of publications which includes some unusually attractive and perceptive works.

A superb combination of readable history and brilliantly chosen illustrations has been produced by the indefatigable Basil Davidson in *Africa: History of a Continent*. Unlike so many titles, this one does not claim too much. The artificial division between North Africa and Africa south of the Sahara that so much work has perpetuated has been swept away by the breadth of Davidson's historical scope and the keenness of his perception of relationships. Not only does he record the great heritage of Egypt, and the historic trans-Saharan links of mutually advantageous trade and more one-sided political conquest but for once Ethiopia is given its due share of attention: its unique Christian tradition; its unusual interaction of Christians, Moslems and Jews; its little known religious and secular art treasures. Against such a background, and within such a context, the relatively short colonial period falls into a balanced perspective as a great molding factor with both constructive and destructive effects, but only one of the decisive influences by which contemporary independent Africa has been shaped.

Basil Davidson's *A History of West Africa to the Nineteenth Century* shares the clarity of phrase, vividness of presentation and perspective of his larger book. This more limited and thus more integrated survey tells the story of West Africa's economic, social and political growth and ruptures from the full establishment of the Iron Age by 1000 A.D., through the rise and fall of empires, the dislocations caused by the slave trade, and the organization of new states and lines of trade, to 1800, the eve of the imperialist thrust from Europe. No less significant, be it noted, than the impact of outside powers upon West Africa in this period were

the counter influences of massive involuntary movement of peoples from West Africa to Brazil, the Caribbean and the United States, and of raw materials to stimulate the Industrial Revolution in Europe.

Basil Davidson is a British author and journalist, with many books on Africa to his credit. He works closely with professional historians like Prof. Roland Oliver, who read the manuscript of *Africa: History of a Continent*, and Prof. J. F. Ade Ajayi of Ibadan University, Nigeria, and F. K. Buah, headmaster of a Ghanaian secondary school, whose names are joined with his in writing the *History of West Africa*. Another African scholar, Dr. J. C. deGraft-Johnson of the Department of Economics at the University of Ghana, has also written of pre-colonial Africa in *African Glory: The Story of Vanished Negro Civilizations*. First published in 1954, and recently reprinted, *African Glory* seeks to discover the origin of the Negro, as well as to identify those ancient civilizations in which the Negro played a significant part.

Beginning with Egypt, Carthage, Roman Africa, and the conquest of North Africa by the Vandals, Dr. deGraft-Johnson pieces together a story of almost constant interaction between peoples and areas that is relevant to his theme. He writes next of the Arab invasions of which the first, fired with religious zeal, won North Africa for Islam, but the second was largely destructive. Already, however, had come the rise of Ghana, founded in the fourth century and at its height fifty years before it was conquered by the Almoravids in 1076. Within a decade, the latter had extended their rule from Senegal to Spain, and pressed southward the tribes of the Akan group that today inhabit modern Ghana. In the Western Sudan was rising the Mali empire whose most illustrious emperor, Mansa Musa, led a spectacular pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324, and developed the commercial city of Timbuktu whose university was a great Islamic center of culture.

Once Dr. deGraft-Johnson begins the account of the African empires, his historical reconstruction takes on form, vigor and color. Whether describing the rise and subsequent breakup of the Mali and the Songhai empires, or the Portuguese in Africa, the slave trade or his own Gold Coast (subsequently Ghana), he is pithy and vivid. He ends this new edition with an epilogue geared to 1966 that notes how African leaders, like Nkrumah, by then out of power, had denied the freedoms in their own country for which they had originally fought.

Yet he affirms his faith in the potential stability of his continent if it secures wise and skillful leadership.

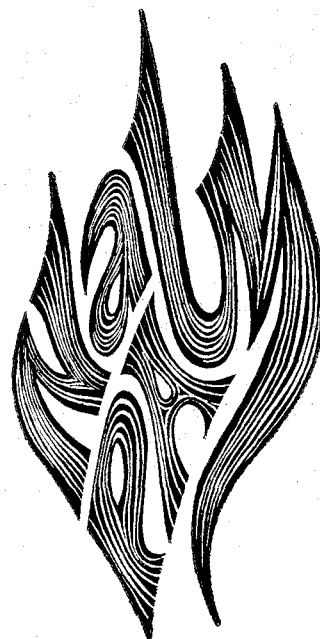
Another type of historical analysis, one that uses both the approaches and techniques of modern social science, is ably presented by Martin Kilson of Harvard University in *Political Change in a West African State: A Study of the Modernization Process in Sierra Leone*. American attention has recently been drawn to this small country by the 1967 army coup that followed its general election and the (momentary) accession to office of a new Prime Minister. For those who are sometimes skeptical of the usefulness for practical politics of academic studies, it is worth noting that Dr. Kilson ends his detailed study with the conclusion that the post-colonial party process "leaves few grounds for optimism," and that "a movement toward full-fledged authoritarian rule in the near future would be no surprise."

Sierra Leone has never wholly bridged the gap between its Creole community in the peninsula area—descendants, like the Americo-Liberians, of freed slaves—and the indigenous Africans in the hinterland. Both, though to varying degrees, experienced the revolutionary effect of the colonial system in creating social and economic change, and ultimately political participation. Educational institutions were established relatively early for West Africa—Fourah Bay College, now the University of Sierra Leone, dates back to 1827—but Creoles and outsiders long received almost all the advantage from them. Yet, unlike Liberia, those from the hinterland became the dominant political influence, and it was they who carried Sierra Leone to independence. The interaction of many subtle and significant factors in this complicated equation are skillfully analyzed by Dr. Kilson in what is likely to become a basic study.

Moving from West to East Africa, a massive and comprehensive collection of articles entitled *The Transformation of East Africa: Studies of Political Anthropology*, and edited by Stanley Diamond and Fred G. Burke for the Eastern Africa program of Syracuse University, brings together a wide range of studies of historical, political, economic and social factors affecting this huge area. Arising out of papers for a faculty-student seminar on Problems of Nation-Building in East Africa, this work is a useful compendium of background material.

The last two books to be considered here are very different in their purpose and their presentation, but both

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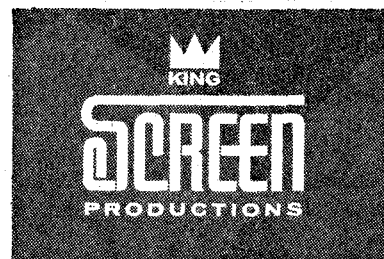


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deal with the area often termed "the white redoubt" because of its refusal to yield to the pressures of African nationalism. R. J. Hammond, in his competent and illuminating *Portugal and Africa, 1815-1910: A Study in Unecconomic Imperialism*, focuses on Portuguese policies and attitudes concerning Africa, especially those affected by British policies and attitudes in that period. He contributes materially thereby to an understanding of one of the great paradoxes of colonialism in Africa: why by far the weakest of colonial powers is the only one to continue to dominate large areas of that continent, notably Angola and Mozambique, and even to retain its hold on Portuguese Guinea in West Africa.

Other studies, already referred to in this review, have pointed out the early outreach of Portugal—so isolated geographically on the European continent—to Africa and beyond. These contacts, its long-standing territorial claims in Africa, and their translation into colonial control in the 19th century have been coupled with as yet unshaken Portuguese determination to retain what they have acquired. Whatever judgment one may make on the Portuguese brand of colonialism—United Nations censures of its racial policies, in which the United States has joined, and fighting by African nationalist forces within all Portuguese-controlled areas, illustrate how widespread is the opposition—it is important to understand the basis of its strength. Professor Hammond, an economist at the Food Research Institute at Stanford University, has added materially to the all too slight body of information on the views the Portuguese themselves have held on imperial issues, and provides new insight into the period with which he primarily deals for the contemporary scene.

Nathan Shamuyarira's *Crisis in Rhodesia* is the most personal, and the most pressing of the books in this review. It provides a detailed, highly readable account both of the inequities in the distribution and use of land, life in the towns, education, and political opportunities suffered by the majority Africans in Rhodesia (who outnumber the resident and dominant whites by sixteen to one) and of the rise and course of the African nationalist movement. Shamuyarira, editor of *The African Daily News* from 1956 to 1963, and thereafter a lecturer at the University College in Salisbury, Rhodesia, left his country to study for a Ph.D. at Princeton University just six hours before the police arrived at his home with a warrant for his arrest. The most telling com-

mentary on the built-in color discrimination in Rhodesia, with its resultant waste of human resources, is that because he is working for African political rights there is, in his country, no place but jail for a man of Shamuyarira's intelligence, experience and integrity. [See "Eleventh Hour in Rhodesia" by N. M. Shamuyarira, *The Nation*, November 8, 1965.]

THEATRE IN EUROPE IV

HAROLD CLURMAN

Berlin

The theatre in West Berlin is well supplied with new and old texts from the drama of all lands. It is thoroughly sound in orthodox techniques, established and rich with honor in the community. But I was more interested in the theatre of East Berlin because of the sharp difference between what one may see there and what one sees in New York, London, Paris and West Berlin itself. I refer to the Komische Oper ("Comic Opera"), to some extent to the Deutsches Theater (whose production of the picturesque Soviet allegory *The Dragon I* saw last year) and, of course, to the world-renowned Berliner Ensemble.

What struck me in the productions of East Berlin, as it had in Prague, was the sheer sense of *play*: the exhilaration in the variety of physical action, color and movement, by which meaning may be conveyed. When I saw Topol's *Cat on the Rails* in Prague, for instance, I seemed to "get" even more of its quality and message without knowledge of the Czech language than I did when I read the script in a good English translation by George Voskovec. In Prague and East Berlin the stage action is speech.

Hence my conjecture that the great Russian director, Meyerhold, for a long time taboo in the Soviet Union because of his "formalism," was probably the indirect influence on the theatres of Prague and to some degree of East Berlin. Meyerhold said that "Words in the theatre are only a design on the canvas of motion." This was not meant to be taken literally (though it is true that he tampered with texts—including those of the "classics"—a practice held to be heretical). It is obvious that Brecht, the founder and leader of the Berliner Ensemble, couldn't have minimized the importance of writing in the theatre (he was above all a poet), but the emphasis on the plastics of movement, the almost choreographic treatment of groups and of individual performances, scenic business,

Africa includes sharp contrasts within and between its countries and areas. We are fortunate that so many serious yet readable studies are being published to enable us to view its vast panorama with more perspective and more balance. This dynamic continent more than repays all efforts to understand the history, the struggles and the aims of its many and varied peoples.

tricks and turns are among the most striking features in the theatre of both East Berlin and Prague. This is theatrical theatre, where playing is the *play* and the text is not altogether the thing.

I attended the first night of a new mounting of Verdi's *La Traviata* at the Komische Oper. Its director, Walter Felsenstein, a resident of West Berlin, rehearses his operatic productions for many months. The Komische Oper, like other theatres in East Berlin, is subsidized by the government.

Opera under Felsenstein is endowed with an authentic dramatic life. The actors do not deliver their arias from stage center, face front, with an eye on the conductor. They are characters of a drama which is not sliced into set pieces, and they move and act in accordance with dramatic necessity.

Every role is individualized. In the gambling and ballroom episodes of *La Traviata*, for example, there are no "supers": one can "read" each character among the guests, follow the line of each person's special behavior and yet discern the pattern of the whole. All this in settings perfect in taste, exquisite in opulence (where demanded) and, best of all, expressive of style and content.

During the penultimate moments of the death scene in *La Traviata* one catches glimpses of the whole course of Violetta's and Alfred's history—particularly the former festivities—in brilliant miniature. The juxtaposition of these sparkling fragments of the past and the approach of death adds irony to pathos. To see a Felsenstein production is to suspect that opera might be the greatest of theatrical forms. This surely is "total theatre."

The productions at the Berliner Ensemble are no less totally theatrical. Three elements prevail at the Ensemble which we rarely find in Brecht productions elsewhere: elegance, charm and abundantly raffish humor. The actors move in grace and laughter while, at the same time, preserving a certain prole-

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tarian plainness without a trace of coarseness.

That such attributes should mark the production of *The Threepenny Opera* is perhaps not surprising, but that they should also appear in *The Bakery*, considering the play's subject matter, is astonishing. The script was composed by Brecht's "heirs" from scenes only partly finished in 1929-30. It is a propaganda play in the playwright's "epic" style, dealing with the economic hardships of the period. The atmosphere is steeped in the dull gray of poverty. Yet there is no heaviness at all in the staging, but great charm, while the drabness of the circumstances presented is transformed into a spectacle of subtle, visual interest, even beauty. In nearly all discussions of the Ensemble its purely *aesthetic* aspect is overlooked. Externally, the Oriental, particularly the Japanese theatre, has served as an inspiration for effects which seem to have been born in Berlin.

My intention at the moment is not to describe the productions of *The Threepenny Opera* or of *Man Is Man*. What concerns me now are matters of principle and instruction which may be extrapolated from the experience of having seen them.

Nowhere in the Western world is such "teamwork" to be seen as at the Ensemble. There are several remarkably fine actors in the company (one of them plays the central role in *Man Is Man*), but the productions are so much of a piece that I very nearly forgot to look at the programs to learn their names. The productions are so wholly integrated that one hardly thinks of individual persons or passages. They are "works" in which acting, design, direction, seem to have been created by a single artist—not the dramatist, the director, this or that actor but all of them as One. They have created something greater than the sum of its parts. This is the perfection of theatre craft.

It is important to remember that these productions (*The Bakery*, *The Threepenny Opera*, *Man Is Man*) postdate Brecht's death in 1956. They are the work of young directors trained at the Ensemble. It should be remarked that the latest success at the Ensemble is a production of O'Casey's *Purple Dust*. The Ensemble is not a one-dramatist theatre.

There is a general significance in these bits of information. For what I persist in calling "true Theatre" is not a display of great personalities, geniuses and stars of whatever sort but a unified effort that represents something more than its component individuals. Of geniuses and personalities we in the United States have our share; they come out seasonally. One way of recognizing a true Theatre

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is that its value extends beyond the brilliance of its immediate personnel.

The Moscow Art Theatre, for example, founded in 1898 by Stanislavsky and Nemirovitch-Danchenko, has exercised an enormous influence on the modern Russian theatre (and elsewhere) long after its prestige was established and after its founders' deaths. This did not come about solely through the eminence of the parent organization (the Moscow Art Theatre is now considered "a museum" by many Russians and others) but through the students of its ideas and practices in many independent and frequently aesthetically divergent groups.

Similarly, the Berliner Ensemble, indisputably Brecht's creation, now retains its vitality through the development of principles and procedures bequeathed by him and put to use by people of a later generation for new audiences. A Theatre is not so much the product of a talent as of a concept, a ruling idea. Through its seminal power it survives those who plant it. A true Theatre inspires not only dedication to its idea but generates a common way of work, a fundamental technique, a characteristic style. A Theatre is the expression of a culture or at least a powerful current within a com-

munity. Indeed, it is not too much to say that a Theatre may contribute to the formation of a culture, a statement supported by many historical precedents.

When the Berliner Ensemble moved into the delightful old playhouse where in 1928 *The Threepenny Opera* was first produced, the following lines (written by Brecht) were inscribed on a plaque in the lobby as an indication of the Ensemble's spirit: "The Berliner Ensemble is about to give its plays amid ruins. These performances will be staged in this beautiful building not only for pastime but to have audience and company together establish a harmonious 'us': so that this House and much else besides may stand fast."

Attendance at the Ensemble is now greater than when I first visited it in 1956. Every performance I attended was sold out. The audience, it seemed to me, was composed largely of young folk. It

is also noteworthy that while the people in the streets of East Berlin are for the most part shabbily attired, they come to the theatre almost formally dressed, as for a festive occasion.

Another interesting sidelight: the Alfred of *La Traviata* at the Komische Oper was an American from Atlanta, Ga. He is not a "defector" but an alien resident of West Berlin, permitted to work with Felsenstein in East Berlin. The day I was informed of this I encountered Carl Ebert, whom I had first met in Los Angeles where he lives. I asked him what he was doing in Berlin. He told me he was staging Stravinsky's *The Rake's Progress* at the West Berlin Opera House. I inquired whether he was satisfied with his cast. "It's very good," he replied, "the three leads are Americans." Our country, I repeat, suffers no lack of talent.

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THREE POEMS AGAINST VIOLENT DEATH

I

*A nail. Twist it and it breaks.
Screw it slowly and the juice rusts it away.
But hammer it, and the nail grows,
Blackening the earth. It becomes a huge nail,
Driven through the leaves,
Bigger than whole cities.*

II

*On a road near Da Nang, twenty young men
Scrape their legs and die.
They dream of becoming wet flowers
That hang in the trees over their heads.
They dream of twisting their soft bodies
Around a bush, where they could lie for months
Turning brown, cracking at the sides,
But under the tanned bark would be a stubborn
Green thread. But now they scrape at the ground
And bite it with their teeth. While, behind
The trees the horizon walks up and down
On legs of yellow lights, and the planes
Know themselves, and are very clean.*

III

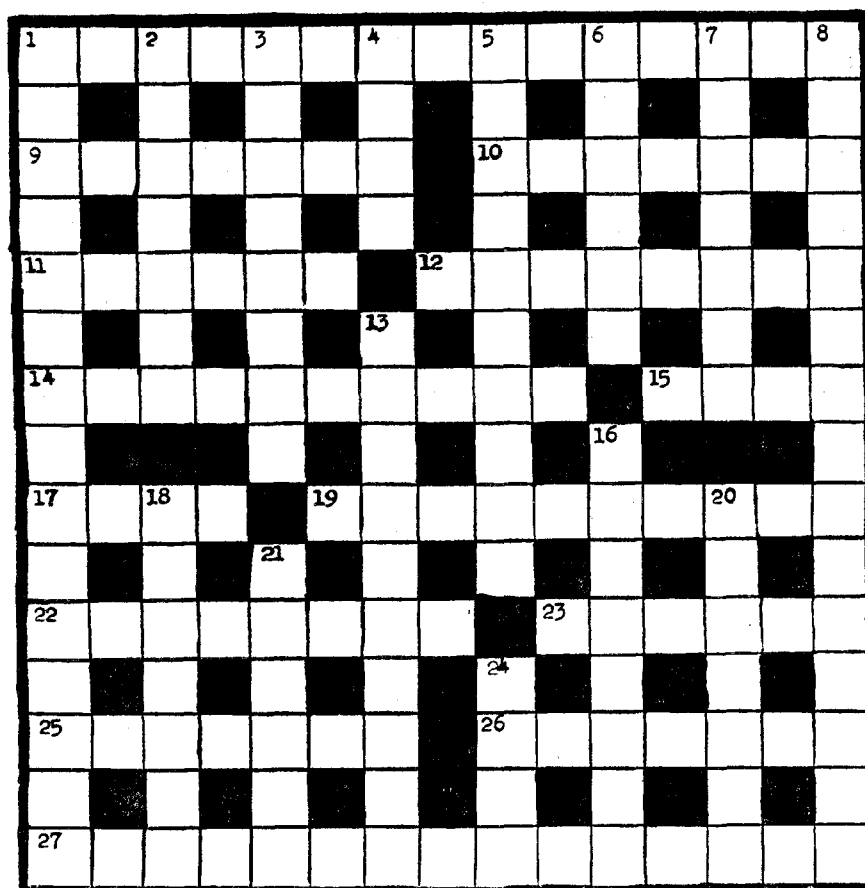
*America shakes the bombers from her hair.
There are men in the streets, but who can
See them? Men in Chicago and in Vietnam.
While the President walks in our houses;
No one on the street can talk more softly.
Stars listen, sharpened and deadly;
For the ceremony has awakened inside of bullets.
Its corroding cloth has been fitted for trees
And flesh; for women whose youth will be scalded
Like an egg. In Asia men scrape at the ground/With a fire
In their minds and their bodies burning.
America shakes the bombers from her hair.
No one on the street can talk more softly.*

PAUL ZWEIG

THE NATION / July 31, 1967

Crossword Puzzle No. 1210

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

- 1 Implying a mixture of pints and pins, just for the fun of it. (4, 3, 8)
- 9 Gets up and around, no doubt. (7)
- 10 Is it elementary for the daughter of Tantalus? (7)
- 11 Follows the captain's orders to stay put, but doesn't tell it straight? (4, 2)
- 12 Wine plant? (8)
- 14 Is such a fan appropriate when the sun is at its worst? (10)
- 15 One might hope to do it quietly with gear such as stockings, for example. (4)
- 17 Sir, out of 9 you could make high points! (4)
- 19 They might help the library grow. (10)
- 22 Sate? (8)
- 23 Is her wit more like those little lies? (6)
- 25 Is capital required first, usually? (7)
- 26 Quiet after nine? It's in the bag, or more probably in the carton. (3-4)
- 27 Certainly not based on quick figuring, though according to them one pays a premium price! (9, 6)

DOWN:

- 1 Does it show how things burn you up? Just the opposite! (5, 10)
- 2 It's obvious I would show up in the happening! (7)
- 3 A container, so arranged as to be pretty ornamental? (8)

- 4 Does it mark an interruption in the race? (4)
- 5 Cervantes said great persons are able to do great ones. (10)
- 6 Like some leather, also came first. (6)
- 7 Throw out that clerical character! (7)
- 8 It does a proper note in time of trouble, but some walk out on them. (8, 7)
- 13 By the sound of it, what one might do in the flower garden, with the hot season. (10)
- 16 People have little aspiration to be taken by it (8)
- 18 The first job of government? (7)
- 20 What thieves sometimes do first to last might prove a drain. (7)
- 21 Instead of me being in this country, loudly proclaim another place. (6)
- 24 One can get to see at a distance, in France's Pyrenees. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1209

ACROSS: 1 and 25 Intentional walk; 9 Frazzled; 10 Baking; 11 Decease; 12 Careers; 14 Flicks; 15 Bedrooms; 17 Brass hat; 20 Puffin; 22 Tintype; 24 Ominous; 26 Depict; 27 Averages; 28 Black Knight.
DOWN: 2 Nez Perces; 3 Enlists; 4 Tidy; 5 On board; 6 Ankle; 7 Orwell; 8 Antrim; 13 Abate; 16 Offenbach; 18 Raises; 19 Hepatic; 20 Pompeii; 21 Inure; 23 Twill.

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3 We, the signers of this declaration, believe this war to be immoral. We believe it to be illegal. We must oppose it.

4 At Nuremberg, after World War II, we tried, convicted and executed men for the crime of OBEYING their government, when that government demanded of them crimes against humanity. Millions more, who were not tried, were still guilty of THE CRIME OF SILENCE.

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